616 835 857 trated in an autobiography collected by the writer: The narrator said laughingly that as very small children (three or four years old) the boys and girls "played house" together, and although they did not know what galle and dué (husband and wife) meant, the two sexes called each other by these terms when they were playing as though they were in the right relationship; but he added, "No Yiritja boy ever played house with a Yiritja girl and no Dua boy ever did this with a Dua girl. We always did this properly." On being asked how they, as children, knew this was the right way, he said, "That is something I always knew." Other similar occurrences related of the author's informant's and others' childhood indicate the emotional depth of the dual division in the mental make-up of these people, for it goes back of memory in the experience of the individual. Since a native's memory for the events of his early life is even better than our own, it will be seen how early the discipline of the dual division makes itself felt.

616 796 The great ceremonies also help to keep the things of the universe in their correct categories and to establish their correct relationships to each other, since at least once each year they dramatize the mythologies. Most of the great ceremonies belong to the Dua moiety—the Ul-mark, Djung-guan, Gun-a-bi-bi, and Marn-di-el-la—while the Nar-ra totemic ceremony is divided into two parts, one for each moiety; the first three ceremonies of the garma corroborees, which celebrate the spiritual life of the lesser totems, are Dua, because they are associated with Yur-lung-gur and Mu-it, the great snakes, which are Dua, and because they are connected with the two creator sisters who belong to this moiety. Even though the larger ceremonies are supposedly Dua in ownership, actually both groups participate, and in their structure both are given an equal rôle. The only practical difference in these dramatic rituals is that all ceremonies owned by the Dua are led by headmen of clans belonging to this moiety.

616 There are no headmen for moieties, although, as will be seen in the discussion of myth and ceremony, the headman of the Liaalaomir holds a place almost equaling in position that which the leader of a moiety would possess.

616 578 Intra-moiety fights are common; in fact, more common than warfare with clans of the opposing moiety. No clans would join together to fight another people simply because they belong to the same moiety; nor, were this reason advanced, would it prevent fighting within the moiety. The struggle for women among members of the

same moiety is too keen to be overcome by an appeal to moiety solidarity. 616
578

Various parts of the ceremonies are used to give expression to the
dual division. In the Djungguan ceremony, subsections, when calling 616
up their dead ancestors, are placed in the moiety order; that is, first 796
the four Dua subsections and then the four Yiritja take turns in calling
the names and the illustrious deeds of their dead ancestors. At the
end of this ceremony, when food is eaten ritualistically, the members
of the two groups exchange food. During the Gunabibi only Dua men
paint themselves, since it is taboo for Yiritja men so to decorate themselves
for this particular ceremony. Dua men, however, cannot construct [437]
the great Yer-mer-lin-di totemic emblem, and this duty and
privilege devolves upon Yiritja men, in exchange for which service
the Dua men present the Yiritja men with food and other presents.
The Dua use a round grave post to mark, their burial spots or when [764]
they wish to erect a monument to the spirit of a newly dead person
belonging to their moiety, whereas the coastal Yiritja raise a ceremonial
mast for their dead. The Dua use red feather decorations for [301]
their Narra ceremonies; the Yiritja use opossum fur.

The totems themselves are largely divided on the basis of the
moiety. The list of the clans with their totems, page 39 ff., will show that 616
most clans of one moiety possess their totems in common. There is a 776
considerable regional variation, but the differences are not due to clan
divisions. Very occasionally a clan will possess a totem that no other
owns, but this is only a temporary condition, for the myth of the two
creator women usually is sufficient proof of ownership to other
clans, so that in a short time they accept this new totem as their own,
provided they belong to the same moiety as the original clan. For
example, on the eastern side of Arnhem Land, along the coast of the
Gulf of Carpentaria, all of the Dua clan have totems such as a yam
stick, old woman, and young woman, while the Dua clans in the west,
which center around the Goyder River, are more concerned with a
snake and a complex of totems which surround it, and less with the
women and their totemic objects. There seems to be an historical basis
for this division which will be discussed later.

THE PHRATRY

There is a weak attempt on the part of the Murngin to form groups 615
of clans within the moiety, based on the mythological idea of a common 197
association with a common creator totem or an alleged similarity

851 It gives the father added bonds with waku (his sister's son) because
the latter becomes husband to the daughter; it strengthens his position
602 with daughter's son, who is waku to ego's son. A man prefers a son,
however, because of his value in the constant tribal feuds, not only
through his own assistance and the aid he brings to his relations (as,
of course, the daughter does through her marriage), but also because
almost the entire ceremonial life of the father's clan and tribe is
[428] centered around the males. A son inherits the right to perform certain
dances through his father and never through his mother. By a son's
initiation into the various ceremonies the father's social participation
is further increased as it would not be if the child were a daughter.*

614 Each clan has ceremonial leaders for one or all of the ceremonies it
428 owns. The leadership is inherited by the oldest son if he is old enough.
If not, the deceased father's next oldest brother inherits the right until
796 the son is old enough; or at the death or senility of the second brother
the son becomes leader. The course taken depends largely upon the
personalities of the two men, but in all events the son is looked upon
as the heir to these rights. Such ceremonial leadership makes of a
person a kind of clan headman.

852 When a boy is to be circumcised (at from six to nine years of age),
593 it is the father who decides the type of initiation ceremony. The
other old men of the tribe confer with him as to time, place, and
other arrangements. The father and the mother make presents to the
man who paints the child's body in preparation for the initiation.
868 The father is one of those who teach his son how to hunt, fight, and
conduct himself in the best possible way in the practical affairs of life.
593 If the father is a ceremonial leader he instructs his son in the routine of
songs, dances, and words that make up the great ceremonies.

852 Before the actual circumcision the neophyte is sent on a journey
593 through the country of the various clans to inform the people of the
coming ceremony and to collect presents. The father may refuse to
send his son if he wishes; or, if he wants the boy to go, he may order
him to leave and to take a certain route. No one else could do this.

861 A father never corrects his children. This is left to other kin (see
593 mari, nati, et cetera).

Fathers and sons often cooperate in making a canoe. A son must
593 always acquiesce in a father's request for the use of a canoe, or of any
[421] of the son's property. A father occupies a place much like an older

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* For a full account of the individual's change of status, see Chapter IV, Age Grading.

424 is a possible exception since he alone can exercise his magic; but here
756 too the feeling is not so much of ownership as of having obtained his magical equipment by inherent ability combined with a mystic experience. In the west the magician's power can be passed from father to son, or to some extent from mother's brother to sister's son, and a man can acquire his magical rituals from others; but essentially the concept of magical power is much like our modern concept of talent and ability.

435 The governing principle in the evaluation of objects which will be kept permanently by their owner is the ease with which they can be transported by human carriage or dugout canoe. The amount of labor consumed in their manufacture contributes in some degree to their high value as individual property, and the relative scarcity of an object in nature or in trade also makes its contributions to Murngin economic values; but the final desideratum is the relative ease of transportation
[442] of the article, since this society has no domesticated beast of burden. Metal containers obtained in trade with white missionaries are extremely scarce and highly prized; yet if of very large size they will be given to someone remaining in camp or cut up and put to other uses.

181 The ultimate value is freedom of movement. Basically the largest factor contributing to this value is the shifting food supply which
484 necessitates change of location; but the feeling for change of location permeates the whole society and has become the most positive motivating factor in the thinking of any Australian aborigine, including the Murngin. All the white ranchers and frontier settlers know and have to make allowance for the partially acculturated blacks' uncontrollable desire "to take a walk about," chiefly under the compulsion of movement from place to place but also because of love for homeland and native culture. The desire to go to other places is forever present in the mental constitution of a black's behavior. If he is in his own clan land where he was born and where he grew to maturity—the center of his cultural heritage—he still feels the urge to go to the next horde or food ground. A flexible material culture and a like technological equipment must, and do, form his adaptation to the natural environment.

(For further consideration of this economic problem, particularly from the point of view of the selection or rejection of exotic articles from other cultures, the reader should see Appendix I, Social Change in North Australia.)

181 It might be argued that the factor of transportation did not prevent
796 a luxuriant growth of ceremonial paraphernalia, such as totemic emblems, grave posts, ceremonial objects of dress, etc. Although the native

does consider his ritualistic objects necessary aids to hunting and 181
gathering activities, they are not directly used; and while ceremonial 796
string and the smaller objects are frequently kept after a ritual, the larger objects are ceremonially destroyed by burial or fire, for which, it is most likely, the burden of carrying them is largely responsible. The natives give a mythological reason, and the concept of destruction does fit into the ideas underlying the ceremony; but the destruction was undoubtedly influenced by the necessity of either carrying or destroying a heavy object to prevent women from seeing it.

Whether the Murngin's position as nomadic hunters and gatherers 177
can be historically explained by their having been out of contact with the main centers of civilization and therefore not having risen to the horticultural stage and acquired permanent residence, seems to the writer open to argument. The Cape York Peninsula people had constant communication with the New Guinea horticulturalists, yet did not acquire horticulture as a mode of earning a living, even though they did borrow many other elements from the New Guinea culture. Although the Malays must have been in contact with North Australia for a long period of time, the Murngin again took over only a very small part of their rather extensive material culture.

II. Man, a Species in a Biological Configuration

1. *Man, the Animal, Relating Himself to Nature*

Murngin man is but one species in the general biological configura- 010
tion of plants and animals which is in constant state of adjustment to the inorganic world. This human animal is from one point of view a purely environmental thing in the same way that a eucalyptus tree, a mangrove jungle, and a species of kangaroo, etc., form the natural environment in which a Murngin lives. It is only by a process of abstracting man from the rest of the organic and inorganic world that we see him as a separate creature and create the useful dichotomy of heredity and environment.

The Murngin native eats, drinks, sleeps, excretes, copulates and reproduces his kind, is born and dies, as do the dingo, the kangaroo, or the other animals who move over the land with him. He affects his environmental world, but it largely controls his behavior; and, generally speaking, his place in the natural economy is largely the same as, let us say, that of the kangaroo, which is an idea the Murngin take as axiomatic. The kangaroo has his peculiar set of articulations

628 only because of warfare, and, conversely, is a decided factor in stimulating open conflict because of the resultant scarcity of women.

The kinship system of the Murngin, with its attendant set of obligations,
628 duties, rights and privileges stated sufficiently often before, tends
602 to enlarge the scope of a two-clan feud to four or possibly all of the
182 clans of the several tribes. The waku-gawel relationship, and also the
dué-galle, mari-kutara, and marelker-gurrong relationships express a very strong solidarity; and a man can depend upon any one of these relatives, distributed in eight or more clans besides his own, to come to his assistance. An isolated killing, owing to the strength of the kinship structure, usually results in the whole of northeastern Arnhem Land becoming a battle ground at fairly frequent intervals.

Kinship solidarity extends warfare but also has the opposite tendency: that of limiting its scope when it has reached very large proportions. All the clans are interrelated, and generally many will find their loyalties divided, for the kinship through marriage of certain members of a clan will dictate their helping one faction, while other members will be compelled by the laws of kinship to aid the other side. Since the solidarity of the clan prevents members fighting among themselves, those clans whose loyalties are divided usually try to pacify the warring ones. In a makarata, frequently arranged by them, they will usually be found doing all they can to have this peace-making ceremony end successfully.

Ceremony, Myth, and Warfare

796 People who gather to celebrate the great totemic ceremonies, such
as the Gunabibi, Djungguan, or Narra rites, come from clan terri-
484 tories sometimes hundreds of miles apart. The leaders for the Gunabibi ceremony, for instance, frequently come up through the interior from the headwaters of the Roper River in the south to the mouth of the Goyder. Members from all the tribes in the northern Arnhem Land district attend yearly. A ceremony assumes greater importance the larger the number of people present and the greater the distance they have come. A man always brags about how far he traveled, how many clans he visited on his pilgrimage to invite the various peoples to his circumcision, and how many people attended.

628 Warfare is in direct opposition to ceremony. It tends to destroy the larger group solidarity and ultimately to reduce the people who are at peace with each other to the clan unit, since only here is there absolute assurance that fighting cannot take place.

If armed conflict breaks out in a camp where a ceremony is being 628
celebrated, the ritual is usually stopped, either because the partici- 796
pants are afraid to stay, for they may be killed in their sleep, or
because the leaders of the ceremony become angry at what they consider 778
an insult to their totems.

It is believed that while a totemic emblem is in camp all fighting 778
should cease, and any infraction of the tribal law is considered a direct
insult to the totemic emblem and therefore to the clan. The leader of 626
a Narra ceremony, at which the totemic emblems are used, almost 578
always stops the ritual if there has been any serious infraction of tribal law, because he does not want to accept the consequences of an affront to his totem. It is believed that the totem itself would seek vengeance upon any leader who did not protect its interests at such a time. The writer saw two Narra, a Djungguan, and two Gunabibi ceremonies terminated because of the outbreak of fighting. The two Narra were stopped by the leaders because they said their totems were insulted, the Djungguan and Gunabibi because of the fighters' fear of death and also because of the anger of the leader of the ceremony.
Another Narra ceremony was not stopped when a fight followed the [684
catching of two women in adultery by their husbands. The women
were thoroughly beaten—less because of the offense itself than because 688]
it took place while a great ceremony was being held—and might have been killed but for their escape in the black of night by swimming to a nearby island.

The deliberate stopping of a ceremony demonstrates that warfare 628
and ceremony have clearly antithetical traits. The great ceremonies 796
tend to enlarge the group solidarity both in numbers and in extent
of territory and to create a smoothly functioning unit out of a large 182
number of clans, but warfare destroys this unity and reduces the limits of solidarity to the clan.

Since both traits are necessary to the tribe's social organization, a nice periodical balance has been struck; at one period ceremonialism controls the people's activities, and later war is uppermost in the relations of the local groups.

EFFECTS OF WARFARE ON POPULATION

A fairly accurate estimate places the population of this area around 162
three thousand. The genealogical material gathered by the writer shows about an equal number of women and men, with possibly slightly more men than women. This means that there are about fifteen hun-

attitude, since the belief in the curative power of this ritual unifies 121
the point of view of all the members. The magician, while healing, is 182
usually watched by a number of the near and far kinsmen. They all express great satisfaction in his removal of the sickness (the foreign object) and an affirmation of the victim's cure, as do the magician and the victim.

An Examination of the Social Configuration of Magic in the South 753

The Part Ritual Plays as a "Magical" Instrument in the South.— 796
Ritual can cause sickness and death as well as prevent them. When
the great ceremonies such as Gunabibi, Djungguan, Ulmark and 626
Narras are being performed, any breaking of the tribal laws is con- 834
sidered exceedingly dangerous and likely to cause sickness among the totemic group. If totems are hidden within the men's camp and a fight is started, or if illegal sexual relations occur, or if in some way the clan feels its totems have been profanely treated, there is general indignation and a certain amount of fear that members will become ill.

A Narra ceremony was being celebrated by some clans of the Yiritja moiety and during the preliminary part a totem was being made when a fight broke out in the camp among some of the male members because a husband believed that his wife had been having illicit relations with another man. The owners of the totem felt not only that they and their totem had been insulted but also that they were likely to become ill from the fighting and the breaking of the tribal laws.

A shark totem was hidden by a member of the Djirin clan in a hollow tree on the edge of the men's ceremonial grounds. Some women from a distant group passed near it. The owner of the totem followed their tracks and accused their husbands of not watching their women carefully. While he stood with his clansmen back of him, all of them holding their spears in readiness for fighting, he said that it was an insult not only to him and his clan but also to his totemic emblem; that it meant sickness for him or that he might be speared in the next fight he got into.

Two men were caught in illicit sexual relations with two women not their wives while several totemic emblems were on the Narra ground. The Liagaomir clan had their great fire ranga ready for the Narra ceremony. When the leader of this clan heard what had happened he expressed great indignation. He said, "Let us take them down there to our Narra ground, those men and those women, and let us show them our ranga and then kill them. Let them see first what they have done." The women were severely beaten by everybody including their brothers and sisters. The

753

796 leader felt that all the clan had been endangered by this profaneness and
626 that they might all become ill.
834

At other times the lack of participation in sexual intercourse will
753 cause sickness to the man who fails and possibly to others in a group.
786 Sometimes young and bashful men refuse to enter into the ritualistic
626 sexual intercourse which ends the Gunabibi. It is believed that they will be sick. In his account of his first participation in the Gunabibi old Dorng said the following about his embarrassment: "My brother [distant] said to me at this time, 'You go play with my wife.' I said, 'No.' He said, 'You will be sick and maybe die if you don't play with her.'" Often the women who are to be the sexual partners of young men send word to the men that they must come and stay with them or that the young man's refusal will cause both partners to be ill.

753 Sometimes improper participation in a ceremony will also cause
626 illness. Willidjungo, the medicine man, diagnosed my lame leg as caused by my not seeing all of a certain Gunabibi ceremony, which had caused the great snake to be sorry and angry with me. This diagnosis occurred in similar cases with several of the natives.

Mistreatment of ceremonial objects connected with the celebration of a great ritual can also cause illnesses. During the Gunabibi some of the feather headpieces of the leader, Ilkara, disappeared and from the indications left it appeared that a wildcat had eaten them. The young men supposed to guard these things and remain on the ceremonial ground during the night had failed in their duty. Ilkara became ill and had to have a doctor remove a large bone from his side which appeared because of this neglect of his totemic paraphernalia.

826 Baldness is a term of reproach among the Murngin. A man who becomes bald considers it a calamity. One man among the group was
626 partially bald. His people believed that his condition was due to his making too many totemic emblems and giving them to other men in return for presents; in other words, he was mistreating his totem. There was no evidence that he traded his totemic emblems any more frequently than did any of the other men of the group.

753 Women sometimes suffer innocently from the power of the ceremonial blood smeared on the men during the Djungguan and Gunabibi
826 ceremonies. Dundir's leg had two small infections about the size of a
784 thumb nail. Her husband said that she could not go hunting for grubs because she was ill. "She picked cotton off me over at Rabuma when

CHAPTER IX

MURNGIN TOTEMISM, I

796 MURNGIN totemism consists of a ritual relation which is established
773 between members of the clans and certain species of plants and animals. This relationship is expressed in certain myths and rituals.

There are two general types of rituals, one of which is called the Wawilak Myth Cycle in this book, and the other, the Djunkgao Myth Cycle. The Wawilak Cycle includes four fundamental ceremonies, the Djungguan, Gunabibi, Ulmark, and Marndiella. (The Liaalaomir and certain Dua clan ceremonies and certain garma rituals will be treated separately, although they too seem to be related to the fundamental Wawilak myth.) The Djunkgao rituals in Murngin thought form a separate myth-ritual constellation with another fundamental myth—the Djunkgao Sisters myth—and comprise two major ceremonies, the Dua Narra and the Yiritja Narra. Other important but less elaborated myth and ritual groupings will also be tested by the method we propose following in this examination of Murngin ritual and myth.

The Wawilak Myth Cycle of ceremonies—very elaborate and usually extending over several months—is focused around the *rites de passage* of the individual.[1] The Narra ceremonies of the Djunkgao Myth Cycle are also long and elaborate but are pointed more directly toward totemic behavior as it centers around the totemic well.

Both the Wawilak and Djunkgao myth-ritual cycles are concerned primarily with the expression of the social logics (usually illogical thinking, if observed as the mental behavior of an individual) of the people as they are focused on the problem of adapting nature to man. The data demonstrating this thesis will be presented in this and the following two chapters.

121 The totemic religious behavior of the Murngin tribes is intelligible only in terms of the social organization, the relation of the technological system to society generally, and the ideas which surround the so-

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[1] See Chapter IV, Age Grading.

128 use of an elaborated form of the Ogden and Richards system for the analysis of individual logic.[4]

113 The first myth-ritual constellation to be presented under the foregoing method of analysis is the Wawilak myth and its interlocked ceremonies. It is represented diagrammatically in the following chart:

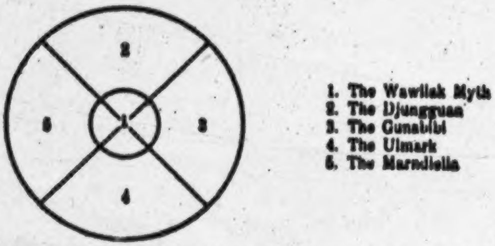

CHART X.—CONSTELLATION OF THE WAWILAK MYTH AND ITS RITUALS

113
796 The Wawilak myth is of extreme importance to the Murngin and is always present in their thinking. I had been in the Murngin country for only three days when I heard of it. The narrator, Yanindja, leader of the eastern Djirin clan, said, "This story belongs to the Djungguan. They [myth and ritual] are all the same thing." At the first circumcision ceremony I saw, clansmen from many parts of the country were present; and in explanation of their presence I was told by the leader, "People come to a Djungguan ceremony from everywhere because when that snake swallowed those two women he stood up right to the sky and sang out and people heard him from every place." (He meant that all the clans come to attend the ceremony.)

124 This most important of the myths was collected a great number of times and all the fundamental features and most of the secondary ones were always present, no matter how poor the narrator. The occasion was always just before, during, or just after the ceremonies supposed to be connected with it.

113 The story is primarily an account of how before the time of present-day man the two Wawilak sisters and their children marched out of the southern inland after committing clan incest, and came to the Liaalaomir totemic hole. Here the older sister profaned the pool of the Great Python by accidentally allowing her menstrual blood to fall

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[4] *The Meaning of Meaning,* by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, with an appendix by Bronislaw Malinowski, has been a great help to me in working out the ideas expressed in this chapter.

in the water hole; because of this, the women and their children were 773
swallowed by Yurlunggur, the python. A great flood covered the land, after which the two women were regurgitated and finally swallowed again.

The myth has three primary and ten secondary movements. The first principal movement can be called "the coming of the two sisters from the southern interior"; the second, "the python's pool is profaned and he swallows the Wawilak women"; and the last, "man learns the secrets of the Wawilak rituals."

The Murngin unquestionably associate the Wawilak myth generally with the four ceremonies. The following statement by a Liaalaomir old man summarizes what I heard probably hundreds of times: "Those two old Wawilak women made the garmas [not all of them], and Djungguan, Gunabibi, Ulmark, and Marndiella for the Liaalaomir and Mandelpui people"; or, as it was sometimes expressed, "This Gunabibi and Ulmark, Djunguan, and Marndiella are all the Wawilak story. They belong to Mirrirmina [clan well of the Liaalaomir], where those two old women found the snake. Marndiella is the same as a garma [i.e., it is a less sacred ceremony than the others] because it belongs more to the women's camp." I was told by many that all people believe [821]
that Muit (one of the sacred names of the python) caused the wet and dry season and that "the Wawilak women sang all the songs and dances [the four ceremonies mentioned above] to stop the rain and to stop the snakes who had surrounded them."

In one account I was given of the Wawilak Creation myth, "She [the older sister] sang the 'outside songs' when we cut young men. After she finished them she sang all the Djungguan songs and the Gunabibi songs. All the time she was trying to stop this rain but it wouldn't stop—she sang the 'inside' song of Djungguan—a-a-a—kak-ye!—; she sang the songs where the subsection names are called out and the men sit in a circle, and she called out the clan names for the first time."

The young sister sang like the leaders do now, with a singing stick. That young girl said, "We will take the Yiritja way now." The rain did not stop and it got harder. They tried to sing something more "inside" (i.e., more sacred). "And they sang Yurlunggur [another name for the sacred python] and menstruation blood and this is the same as when the boys bring Yurlunggur in at night to the circle." (See Djungguan ceremony, page 270.) 773

The story of the two Wawilak women is always told when any one 796

113 196 of the Wawilak cycle of ceremonies is being given; continual references are made during the dancing and singing to the sisters and their antagonist, the snake; and one is always being reminded of this drama of the creation period. "What Bapa Indi [the python totem] called all these countries [the clan lands and local areas within them] and the languages he spoke [the dialects real or believed to be real which are the distinguishing marks of the clans] all we people speak today. That snake made these ceremonies then. He made this one [the Djungguan], and he made Gunabibi." "Circumcision started when those two women tried to cut their boys in the Djungguan, but the snake swallowed them before they could do it; and cutting today starts from that."

It is obvious from the above quotations that the Murngin generally connect these rituals with the Wawilak Creation myth. The difficulty with accepting the natives' verbal statement of a general connection is that it may be a mere rationalization on the part of the natives; the general relation might exist in their minds without a generic connection between the dramatically acted rituals and the oral Wawilak rite. We shall therefore examine each element of the ritual and myth to ascertain whether there is an organic connection between the two.

In general, it can be said that throughout the myth there is constant reference to the social organization and to the four rituals of the Wawilak constellation: the Djungguan, Gunabibi, Ulmark and Marndiella. When these are presented later, it will be seen that the primary locale of their drama is the Mirrirmina water hole.

MYTH OF THE WAWILAK WOMEN

113 A. The Coming of the Two Sisters from the Southern Interior

1. The two sisters and their children leave the Wawilak country and start toward the sea, naming the animals and plants as they go; but before they leave they have incestuous relations with their clansmen from which a child is born later in the Wawilak country.

It was the time of Bamun (the mythological period) when Wongar men walked about and modern men had not yet appeared. Everything was different. Animals were like men then! Those two Wawilak sisters had come a long distance. They were coming from the far interior to the Arafura Sea. They had come from the far interior Kardao Kardao country. This is a clan territory of the Dua moiety. They had come from the land of the Wawilak people for Kardao Kardao is their country. The wirkul (a young woman who has not had a child) was pregnant. The gungmun

"Run and get some paper bark and make a basket," said the older Wawilak man. 773

They gathered two baskets of blood, and went to the dance grounds. They made a bush house on part of the ground that represents the snake's tail.

"You take all the hawk's feathers, bush cotton, and this blood, and we'll paint ourselves. You do this, and I shall go cut a hollow log and make a Yurlunggur trumpet."

Each did his task. The hollow ridgepole from the Wawilak sisters' house was used for the trumpet totemic emblem of Yurlunggur.

The sun went down. They left the blood till morning. They slept, and while they were in a deep sleep they dreamed of what the two women sang and danced when they were trying to keep Yurlunggur from swallowing them. The Wawilak women came back as spirits and taught the two men the Djungguan songs and dances that are for the outside general camp, and the inside ones that are for the men's camp. They told the men the way to do the Marndiella, Gunabibi and Ulmark ceremonies. They sang Yurlunggur and Muit. The men slept on and dreamed that Yurlunggur brought out all the iguanas from the Mirrirmina well. (See Djungguan ritual, pages 283 to 284.)

The two sisters said to men, "This is all now. We are giving you this dream so you can remember these important things. You must never forget these things we have told you tonight. You must remember every time each year these songs and dances. You must paint with blood and feathers for Marndiella, Gunabibi and Djungguan. You must dance all the things we saw and named on our journey, and which ran away into the well."

After the men danced the new dances and ceremonies for the first time they went back to their own country. "We dance these things now, because our Wongar ancestors learned them from the two Wawilak sisters."

THE DJUNGGUAN CEREMONY

The great ceremonies all take place in the dry season, and always 796
on the men's ceremonial grounds. Actual participation is only by initiated men, although the women, not allowed in the ceremonial grounds and not thought of by the men as in the ceremony, play an important rôle.

All the ceremonies are associated with age grading, as being partici- [561
pated in by men initiated into certain age grades, or serving to initiate 614
a man into a higher status; and all are associated with moiety or clan 616]
totems.

All the rituals have ceremonial leaders. The participants paint them- 796
selves with sacred totemic designs and usually employ feather orna- 302

796 ments, the decorations ordinarily varying from one ceremony to an-
302 other. Musical instruments are used—a drum, a wooden trumpet, sing-
[534] ing sticks, or bull roarer.

A fundamental conceptual scheme runs through all the ceremonies; the various dramatic sections portray the myth by dance and song. For the western European, this whole totemic ceremonial behavior might be compared to a Wagnerian opera, with the myth as libretto; the motifs, like that of the snake swallowing the women, first expressed in a phrase or two, are later elaborated; and certain motifs, highly elaborate in some of the ceremonies, are only hinted at in others. For the reason that here we have ceremonies treated separately by the natives which they yet realize fit into a larger whole, the totality may, without too much stretching, be compared to the Nibelungen Ring. The fundamental difference is that the story is not a myth to them but a dogma and has the same ceremonial significance to the Murngin as the Mass to a believing Catholic.

852 Shortly after the rainy season is ended, the waters of the many lakes are receding, and the long dry period of plenty begins, the various clans of the Murngin and other northeastern Arnhem Land tribes perform their principal interclan circumcision, the Djungguan, which also serves as a *rite de passage* for the older boys.

A. The Preliminaries

1. Yurlunggur is made; its first blowing announces that a Djungguan has started.
2. The little boys are taken from their mothers. They are decorated and sent on a journey.
3. The camp is divided into its sacred and profane sections. The Warn-gai-tja is made and placed in the main camp.

1. When the leader of the Djungguan has conferred with his blood brothers, the other old men of the clan, and usually the older men of the surrounding friendly clans, upon the advisability of having a
Djungguan, the ceremony starts. A number of the older men go out
852 into the surrounding bush and pick out a small tree the core of which
534 has been eaten out by termites so that only a thin outer layer of the
trunk remains. This is cut down, cleaned out, and formed into a large trumpet, which in a later section of the ceremony (E) is painted, and becomes a totemic emblem representative of the great python deity, Yurlunggur. It is then taken to the old men's ground and placed

773 body and it is usually thought of as having the women and children
inside it. Frequently the green leaves surrounding it are said to be the
852 women after he has spewed them up. During one of the many times I was told the story of the Wawilak women, when the narrator got to the moment in the drama when the sisters were seeking something more powerful to stop Yurlunggur and they sang menstrual blood, he interrupted himself and said, "When the dance place for the Djungguan is square and not triangular it is a camp of these women. When it is this way [triangular] it is a snake's body. At Mirrirmina you can see the holes where all the sons of Yurlunggur crawled around the two women and you can see the dance ground where the snake fell after swallowing them."

852 E. The Bloodletting

778 1. Yurlunggur is painted.
2. Yurlunggur is blown over the men who give their blood; the
796 names of the ancestors are called.

304 1. All during this section of the ceremony the totemic trumpet is kept in the old men's camp or in the specially built ceremonial hut (the python's totem well). During the preliminary stages of this section Yurlunggur is painted.

852 2. On the day before the circumcision a bloodletting ceremony
takes place in the old men's camp. The blood is to be used as an
796 adhesive substance to hold the birds' down and native cotton to the
304 dancers' bodies. Before a man offers his blood for the first time
561 Yurlunggur is blown all over his body; after the first time it is unusual.
This ceremony is one of the ritual methods by which a man is admitted into the higher order of the men's association. Though it is not obligatory for him to go through this rite as it is for the young boy to go through the circumcision ceremony, all of the men feel it their privilege to contribute their blood either the first time they enter the old men's grounds or at some later period. Most men, while still in their prime, give their blood every time this ceremony is held.

852 Here is an account of one of the many blood sacrifice rituals
796 witnessed by the author:

304 The old men sing over the man, Lika. The "mouth" of Yurlunggur
is placed against him and the trumpeter blows all over his body while
533 the trumpet's notes keep time with the slow rhythm of the singing sticks of the leader.

The cycle of songs is sung in the following sequence: 852

(1) Human blood (Man-in-gul-ur-un-gul) 796 ●
(2) Python snake totem (Yurlunggur ar-lur-la) 304
(3) Snake's hiss (Djil-djil-la) 533

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After each song the men take turns calling out the name of some of their ancestors (usually father's father or mother's mother's brother). Sometimes only the names of the ancestors are called out, but at other times men shout: "My mother's mother's brother [mari] carries a totemic emblem on his back!!"—"My mother's mother's mother's brother makes a totemic emblem!"—"My mari has a large penis!!"—"My father's father [marikmo] has a net in his hand and is catching many fish." The old men are always described by the men who use their names as making a totemic emblem or performing some other act while a totemic emblem is being made. The names of the old men are always their totemic and taboo names. The relatives referred to may be actually living, dead, or mythological ancestors. Each man continues all the relatives' names he pleases to select and then calls out, "Bilin [I'm through]." The leader then turns to the next man and he continues the same process.

(4) The fourth song sung is earthquake shaking the ground (movement of Yurlunggur) 852
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(5) Snake's tongue 304
(6) Dua lightning 533
(7) Black rain cloud (Goi-ro-ma-la)
(8) Rain clouds covering the sky (Warn-ba-nar-ri)

The members of each subclass are taken in order by the leader to call out the names of their ancestors as well as the names of their totemic emblems. The Ballung subclass sings first, then Kamerdung and Wamut follow. All the Yiritja subclasses follow and then the fourth Dua one. Sometimes all four of the Dua subsections are called first, then the four Yiritja. Giving the ceremony a sequence of songs that follow in order of subsections grouped according to moiety definitely integrates the subsections into the ceremonial structure. At the same time the dead and the mythological ancestors are also placed in their correct subsections and moiety.

While the singing is going on, the man's arms are tied near the wrist and shoulder with some stout cord. A stone spear head is broken and a flake of it used to make a half-inch cut in the lower arm. The

852 leader rubs the man's head with his hand while another cuts his arm.
196 The totemic emblem is blown against the wound.

The blood runs slowly, and the rhythm of the song is conducted
304 with equal slowness. In a second or two the blood spurts and runs in a
533 rapid stream. The beat of the song sung by the old men increases to follow the rhythm of the blood. The blood runs into a paper-bark basin. "When Lika gets up he'll be very quick and feel very light; and he will be very happy because that blood running out of him will make him that way."

Two men hold the trumpet for a third to play. One of them keeps his hand on the blood-giver's head, occasionally rubbing it, and then massaging the forearm. He keeps one hand or part of his body against the trumpet.

The bottom of the basin fills with blood, and pieces of paper bark are taken from a supply near at hand, broken up in little pieces, and thrown into the basin. They soak up the blood and more pours in upon them. Once more small pieces of paper bark are placed in the basin to be saturated. These pieces of bark will be used later as brushes with which to put on the blood. The giver looks down at the blood coming from his arm with a smile which expresses pride, a slight embarrassment at being the center of attention, and real pleasure. Meanwhile the leader of the ceremony continues to massage his arm. The chorus now sings stringy bark tree.

The blood runs slower and the rhythm is decreased. One of the men loosens the cord on the upper arm and it is taken off. The song and the blowing of the trumpet continue. The slowly dripping blood is stopped with a bit of bush cotton or birds' down. The blood-giver massages his arm with an upward movement. He goes over to the side of the camp and lies down. Frequently the men who give their blood faint and remain in a state of coma for an hour or more because of exhaustion.

The next man opens a hole from yesterday's giving and the blood pours forth in a stream. It runs quickly, and the rhythm of the song is at a very fast tempo. There is much smiling among the men and an occasional "main-muk, main-muk (good, good)."

A third man pulls off an old scab from his arm and the blood pours forth in a larger stream than that of the others. The trumpet continues to blow (but not over the blood-giver since he is not one who is giving for the first time).

Several men proudly exhibit their arms which show five and six 852
cuts that have been made during previous ceremonies. 796

The man who gives his blood for the first time is considered to be 304
in a dangerous position. This is one of the reasons, the old men say,
why he is played over. "That man who gives his blood for the first 826
time for Yurlunggur might get killed. That is why we play over him. That blood comes straight from his heart to his arm when it runs out. That is why we tie it at the top or it might all run out. The boy might get killed because his soul is in his heart and the blood comes from there for corroborees." "It is blood [man-gu] which makes people strong all their lives; if a man's blood runs out and he is emptied of all his blood that man dies and his soul is gone. We got this body because we have that blood. If that blood goes away we are empty inside."

It is believed that this blood, when it is on a man's body as a part 826
of his decoration for the ceremony, if touched by a woman will make 778
her ill or produce sores on her body, because it has had a totemic name given it and the essence of the totemic spirit has gone inside this blood. The blood of a man who has been hurt in an ordinary accident will not hurt a woman. She can rub against him and be all right. "The blood that hurts a woman is the spirit of the Wongar that is inside that blood. It has a big [sacred] name that the leader sang when the men cut their arms. The spirit that is inside that blood is not just that wooden trumpet but another one more inside [more sacred] and the totemic spirit itself, Yurlunggur.—That blood that man gives in the Djungguan is Wongar Derpal. [Derpal means magically powerful and strong.] That blood the old man gives to the dance people makes them derpal and it makes their feathers and bush cotton derpal. The meaning is like this: suppose you and I have come a long way and we reach a good camp and our people have one house empty and it is a good place for us and they take us and put us in it. We get in that house and have a good sleep and no one can hurt us because we have friends. That blood is just like that. It makes us feel easy and comfortable and it makes us strong. It makes us good. That derpal is like the head man. We have that derpal from that blood. It is in our body. It goes inside when we put that blood on it. That blood makes a very big thing."

The night of the day following the bloodletting, the procedure in 852
the main camp is changed. The old women start the evening's per- 796

852 796 formance by wailing and dancing around the warngaitja. The men enter the camp, the boys on their backs now covered with bundles of bushes and leaves. The boys are placed on the ground under the pile of bushes by the warngaitja poles. The men stand with spears around them. The song ends. The men snatch the warngaitja from out of the ground, take the two boys, and run away into the men's ground. The women follow them singing flood water, stop at the edge of the men's grounds and return to the center of the camp, while the men continue on to the fire circle.

852 796 773 826 *Native Interpretation.*—The blood that runs from an incision and with which the dancers paint themselves and their emblems is something more than a man's blood—it is the menses of the old Wawilak women. I was told during a ceremony: "That blood we put all over those men is all the same as the blood that came from that old woman's vagina. It isn't the blood of those men any more because it has been sung over and made strong. The hole in the man's arm isn't that hole any more. It is all the same as the vagina of that old woman that had blood coming out of it. This is the blood that snake smelled when he was in the Mirrirmina well. This is true for Djungguan and Gunabibi."—"When a man has got blood on him [is ceremonially decorated with it], he is all the same as those two old women when they had blood. All the animals ran away and they couldn't cook them."

When the trumpet blows over the man giving his blood, it is Yurlunggur risen out of his well to swallow the women and their two children because he has smelled the menstrual blood of the older sister. Several well-informed men told me, "When Yurlunggur blows over them when they cut their arms it is like that snake comes up and smells that woman's blood when he is getting ready to swallow them." The songs sung refer to the profanement of the pool and the swallowing of the women by the snake, which means that the man who is giving his blood for the first time is being swallowed by the snake and is at the moment the old woman.

The first *giving* of blood was made by the Wawilak sisters themselves, since it was the blood from their heads and those of their children which was first used by man. "When the Wongar men [who came after the women had been swallowed] looked closely at the stone, they found blood from the heads of the two women and boys [where the snake had bitten them; see myth, subdivision 6]. 'What

will we do?' 'Run and get some paper bark and make a panikin out 852
of it.'"

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"They tied up two panikins and put the blood in them and went 773
to the ceremonial grounds.

"Take all the bird feathers and we will paint ourselves. You do this 826
and I will go and cut Yurlunggur."

It is only the men's blood that is of the right quality for use in the Djungguan ceremony. Women's blood cannot be used. "Woman's and man's blood are just the same but woman's blood is no good. Wongar would not allow it to be used. He will only take men's blood." The blood is not only the menstrual blood of the women in the eyes of the old men; "That blood, that old woman's blood that ran out here [informant pointed to his pudenda], that blood is a live Wongar's blood too. He [the man who was giving the blood] does that for Wongar too. They blow that trumpet over him [the blood-giver] because the snake came out and smelled that woman's blood when she went after paper bark." These last statements were made within the totemic camp of the old men while they and I watched the young man who gave his blood for the first time.

When "Djili-djili-la" is sung after "blood" and "Yurlunggur," it, 852
in singing form, "is just the same as when the snake comes out the
first time," by which the various men who told me this meant "when 796
Yurlunggur comes out" as described in Section C. In other words, 773
these two parts of the ceremony are equivalent.—The next song, 533
"Earthquake," was interpreted: "Those two women came to that
place [Mirrirmina]. Yurlunggur smelled them and turned over and
moved the ground." Whenever an earthquake occurs in Murngin [823]
country it is always said that Bapa Indi (Yurlunggur or Muit) is
moving in the subterranean waters.—When the next song, "Snake's Tongue" was sung, a leader of one of the Djungguan said, "Those two women try to stop that snake's tongue. He wanted to swallow them. That is what this means. They gave his tongue an inside [sacred] name." Another man said, "When that trumpet blows he is singing out and asking, 'Which one has got strong blood?' It is like he is choosing the man he wants. When he gets that man he plays all over him just like he was licking him. He did those two Wongar women that way before he swallowed them. This makes the man's blood come out quick and easy."—After the next song, "Dua Lightning," the leader of one of the ceremonies said, "That is the forked tongue of the snake. Storms and thunder come from him. That is

852 when he is after those two Wongar women." When "Rain Cloud"
● 776 was sung the leader said to me, "Those two women are trying to
773 stop that rain because it is coming like a flood and trying to cover
them up, it is all the same as if they were being swallowed by a
533 snake."—"Those women are trying to sing to stop the rain but they are only making sounds" (that is, they are having no effect on the rain or snake)—also a comment when "Cloud in the Sky" was sung. —After the completion of this cycle, the leader said to me, "No man made these songs. Those two women made them to keep the two lines [Yiritja and Dua moieties] sacred—to keep marriage straight."

852 The singing of the real and mythological ancestors' names is much
776 more significant than merely recalling the names of the dead, for the
souls of the dead are believed to be within the totemic trumpet itself
775 (and within Mandelprindi and Yermerlindi in the Gunabibi ceremony and Uvar in the Ulmark ceremony). "When we have Djungguan, Gunabibi and other corroborees we men tell the women when a man is dead [recently died] that he has come back because that Djungguan has been named his big name [totemic name]. All the men believe he has come back and that all the souls of the dead on that side [moiety reference] are in the ranga [totemic emblem]. If my older brother should die, next Narra or Djungguan we have, he would come back and go in that ranga. That is why we get angry when someone does a bad thing [unsanctioned sexual relation, open fighting, and the like] when we have a Narra or Djungguan. We must stop that corroboree and throw the ritual string away because our old marikmos and maris and kutaras [et cetera] get angry with us and make us sick.
[842] The little babies when they are fish [unborn] live in the same place with marikmo and mari souls. That marikmo and mari watch us. If we are good, and we don't steal, or have other men's wives, he sends us fish to our wives." "You can't see that spirit when it comes back but you can see it in a dream. That man can be Yiritja or Dua. The man who has dreamed goes to the leader and says that so-and-so has come back, and that he says he has come to look at his children and to bring Yurlunggur. That leader asks the man which way the man in the dream said to make Yurlunggur for this next time, because he knows the man understands from this dream." This dream can come before or at the same time as the ceremony and the power name of the returning dead man can be given to the trumpet. Even though "spirits go to the islands of the dead,[14] or the whale takes them to the

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[14] See Myths, Barnumbir and the Island of the Dead, pages 524-528.

Warumeri well, they come back to the ranga and go inside of it and 852
into the well." 796

The souls of women likewise return: "When a woman dies she 775
becomes a Bir-im-bir [spirit] Wongar and goes to the same well as a man. She can come back to her ranga and is like those two old Wawilak sisters."

When the men come out and take the boy away from the women,
they are the snake or the flood and the women are the Wongar 852
women who made the first camp. On the last evening when the men 796
come out they stop at the edge of the camp and they sing rain. When 535
the boys are left under the piles of bushes they are the children of the 773
Wawilak women. "Those boys left there alone are all the same as those babies that were born to the Wongar women. They left their babies there the same way to dance: the women dancing around the Warngaitja mean that." When the men stand with their spears around the pole they sing rain, which means that the flood has come, and when they pull the warngaitja out of the ground and rush away and the others take the bushes off the boys and run away with them to the men's ground, the chorus sings flood. "That means that the flood came and took these two yam sticks and carried them away."—"A flood takes them away after the rain, that is why we sing Wa—wa—wa. That means that the flood water is running."

"When the boys lie there and the men pull the bushes off them that means that snake spitting them up. They are spirits now." (This refers to the first time the python swallows the two women.)

F. THE LAST DANCES IN THE MEN'S GROUND 852

1. The dancers are painted with human blood. 302
2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted.
3. The initiates are shown the dances of the animals and the triangular ground and are instructed.
4. The older boys who have run away are caught and Yurlunggur comes out of the well and is shown to them.

1. The climax of the ceremony occurs next day. All the men paint with the blood that has been let the day before. The bloodletting occurs one day before the circumcision rite instead of the same day, because the exposure to the air gives the blood a more adhesive quality.

The blood is now sacred and powerful. It is, say the natives, as if it 852
were a totemic emblem in itself. It has the power of Yurlunggur in 302
it because he blew over the blood-giver. It is also powerful because the 778

773 down on the inside and looked after the rangas. Those two old women (Djunkgao), when they first came, carried the sun. They were the leaders of the sun. It was just as though he belonged to them. They left him up when they came this way. In the beginning we had the sun, the water, and those women—nothing more. The sun was first.

Out in the bush the men thought, "We must have a fire." They burned paper bark and brush. Those men said, "We stole this from the women. We can't sell this string to the Yiritja until we have a fire. We cannot put this string back into the mud because we stole it from these women. We must keep it and sell it to other men so they can make presents to us."

THE DUA NARRA CEREMONY

●796 The Dua Narra and Yiritja Narra are not so much age-grading rituals as totemic rites. They celebrate the relationship of man to his totems and are focused on the totemic emblems.

Both Dua and Yiritja Narra are divided into two parts. The first or preliminary part is called the *Duni*; the second is looked upon as the real ceremony and is far more important then the Duni. The Duni comprises sections A, B, and C of both the Dua and Yiritja Narras.

A. Preparations

1. The leader gives his consent to his younger brothers and other members of the clan to start a Narra ritual, and totemic emblems are carved and painted.
2. The Narra dance ground is made in the men's ground and the men dance on it.

1. At the beginning of the dry season the grass is too high for travel, and the lily bulbs and cycad palm nuts are not ready for harvest. It is necessary to wait until the grass can be burned and food becomes plentiful, to start a Narra ceremony. Most of the old men watch carefully for the earliest time possible to begin. The younger men are usually the ones who start preparations. Ordinarily the younger brother of the leader goes out into the bush with some of his friends and examines the trees until he finds a straight one of the proper size. He comments upon its proper appearance and says that this is a good one: "I am going to cut it down and make a ranga."

The tree is cut down, cleaned, and the refuse burned by him and his fellows. It is brought back to the vicinity of the clan camp, to a spot on the men's ceremonial grounds in the thicker part of the jungle.

The young man then goes to see his brother or whoever is leader

of the ceremony and says that he has cut ranga wood and wants to 796 ●
make the totemic emblem. If the time is proper the leader says, "Yes, we will go look at that log to see if it is the right size [for carving]." The old man, with other old men, goes out from the main camp to the totem grounds to see how large the ranga wood is. If it is a big log he says, "I think we'll make a woman ranga." If it is somewhat smaller he says, "I think iguana would be the thing to make." Other young men sometimes say at this time to the leader, "I would like to make a girl ranga." Another one says, "I should like to make a fish ranga," another, "I should like to make a wan-du-ma [mud fish]," and still others say, "We want to make a marn-bur [clitoris]."

The young men who are talking to the old leader are his yukiyuko, gatu, younger bapa, marelker, gurrong, mari, and kutara. The old man says to them, "When this Narra ceremony is finished you can sell the string from these rangas to your relatives, but you must come first and see me and make me a present. You can sell it to the Yiritja, you can sell it to people in the same camp. You can take out the [301
string with parrot feathers on it and make bangles and streamers to hang down from your arms. That makes the arm strong when ward- 789]
ing off spears. It will help break the spears." The various totemic emblems are usually made at this time.

2. Late in the afternoon the leader and the initiated men leave the 796
main camp and go out to the men's ceremonial grounds. A small 535
quadrangular dance place has been prepared. This ground is made and used in the same way in the Narra ceremony of the other moiety. The leader takes his singing sticks, the men form themselves into a chorus in front of him. They sing "Um-um-um-wa!" which is to symbolize the running of the fresh water from a totem well located in the interior, and they dance back and forth across the dance ground. When the dancers turn at the end of the ground, they repeat the cry again and the tempo of the rhythm increases, which means that the water is running fast. After this dance has been repeated a great number of times, the leader, followed by his chorus, dances into the main camp. They walk about the place and call out the power names of rain and flood water and the springs that appear after the floods. Finally the leader says, "We will stop." The women give them food and they return to the Narra totemic grounds for further dancing. When they get on the dance ground they cry "Um-um-sis-sis-sis-wa!" All the power names of water are now called up. 796

This finishes the dance for the evening. Some of the men return to

•796 their totemic grounds to eat their food, and others eat in the main camp.—Until this time the totemic emblem has not been painted with red ocher. The leader says to the young men, "Are the rangas finished?"

The young men say, "No, we have no red parrot feathers."

The leader says, "Then we will make our ceremony the du ni way [the red ocher or simple way]. We will put paint on instead of red parrot feathers. We will paint the ranga tomorrow and leave it until next year." Even the people who have enough opossum string and opossum fur of Yiritja and red parrot feathers of Dua to decorate their totemic emblems properly must make an affirmative response to this statement of the leader. He then says, "We will wait until there is more food." Many times the duni is held just before the rain in November and December. Part of the feeling for having a duni then is because of the keen interest in ceremonies and ritual; occasion is given for another ceremony before the advent of the wet season which makes any kind of large gathering almost impossible.

Most of the people who have come from other clan countries have brought carved ranga wood with them. They show these unfinished rangas to the leader and obtain his permission to complete them and use them as part of the Narra ceremony. Some of the visitors, however, cut and make their totemic emblems after they have arrived. The first procedure is the ideal, the second is the way it often happens. After the ceremony has been repeated a number of times the leader says at this point, "We will paint our rangas now." Food is brought in to the men's camp. It is cut up and eaten while the totemic emblems are painted with red ocher. There is an insistence upon these two activities being performed at the same time. While the men are painting the rangas, the leader starts a cycle of songs: first water, then mud, et cetera.

796 *Native Interpretation.*—The preparatory sections of the Dua and Yiritja Narra rites parallel very closely the preparatory ceremonies in
173 the Wawilak constellation. The Dua rangas which are made at this time are definitely associated with the myth of the two Djunkgao women. The interpretation given by one informant, which I shall quote here, is one that is heard many times during the preparatory period. "You can't make just one ranga. You must make all the friends that belong to those two women," which means all the totemic things that were associated with the two sisters and were later made

into totems. The word "can't" is not to be taken too literally, since it would be possible, although unusual, to have but one totem made. 796 773

The decorative materials used in the construction of the totemic emblems have a symbolical significance. I was frequently told: "Red parrot feathers on a ranga are all the same as fire. That log [the original totemic wood used in the Djunkgao myth] was lighted when those two women were here, and that made that fire. That fire now is red parrot feathers."

The water the men use in painting the rangas symbolizes the spring flood water coming from the totem well; and when the natives sang mud several of my informants said, "You can sing the mud song, not because we are using mud to cover our rangas with, but it is like we are painting our rangas with mud from the totem wells." The red ocher symbolizes the wet mud of the totemic wells where the totemic rangas are buried when not in use. The totemic mud has spiritual significance.

When the tempo increases during the singing of water on the dance ground, reference is not only to the water which is running faster but to the seasonal situation, since the totemic well water runs rapidly only during the heavy rain period.

After the women have given the men food and they return to the Narra dance ground to continue their dancing, the repetition of the earlier cries is supposed to be the sound of water coming after a heavy rain; it is running down a flooded creek in the wet season and is definitely associated, I was told many times, with the totemic well water.

II. The Totems Are Displayed

1. The men shave and fashion "Van Dyke" beards. The women paint. Certain dances are performed and the totems displayed. 796 302

1. All the men shave their faces and leave a small growth of beard on the point of the chin. The leader sends white clay to the camp, and the women and uninitiated boys paint themselves there. They, as well as the men who also paint at this time, use a series of lateral bands running around the body and legs and arms. They are supposed to be iguanas and kingfishers.

The totemic emblems are danced with and shown to all the men present, who include not only the men of the moiety giving the ceremony, but both Yiritja and Dua clansmen. All the men participate 796 535

535 in the dancing except, possibly, the older men, who sit at the side
796 and watch, and make comments and give advice. The dance is supposedly given by the Dua for the Yiritja people to see. The leader says to the younger men of the Yiritja, "See this one? He is your waku," or, "He is your gawel," or whatever term the young man calls the leader. The young man's kinship term for the totemic emblem is the same as the one he applies to the leader and possessor of the emblem.

Native Interpretation.—Shaving occurs in several parts of the ceremony,
796 but usually as repetition of the foregoing element of the
113 ceremony. I was told by the natives: "We shave for this Narra because Wongar people shaved when they painted their rangas and put them in the mud," which means "in the time of the Djunkgao sisters when the Wongar men took away their totemic rangas." At another performance of the Narra I was told that all men shave and leave only a little hair on their chin because, "We take this ranga out and that string and give it to the Yiritja and Dua and sometimes to kutara." It is a common rationalization that the string is traded to members of the other moieties; usually a mari gives it to his kutara. The meaning of the shaving here is syncretistically associated with the string in the sense that the hair left in the beard is thought to be like or generically the same as the totemic string.

The paint the men use is supposed to be the semen of the Wongar yolno who tried to have sexual intercourse with the younger Djunkgao sister.

C. The Ring of Women Covered by their Mats

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1. The men kingfishers come into the main camp, dance around the women and children hidden under ainmaras, and thrust their spears in among them.
2. The totemic poles are placed in the mud of the clan well.

1. The men dance painted kingfisher, holding a spear in each hand. This dance leads them out to the main camp.

The women and boys are gathered in a ring and hidden under ainmaras. The men use their spears (representing yam sticks) as canes and walk along in a line, one behind the other, while the leader sings and beats his bilmal (singing sticks). They dance around and around the circle of women and uninitiated. The leader calls out, "Where was this woman born?" and someone answers the name of her totem well. "And where was this one born?" and someone answers the name of a well close to the ocean, or that this one was born in a bush well at such and such a place, until all the women's birthplaces (totem wells) have been asked for and the answer given. The leader, as each well is named, calls out the names of the old Wongar yolno men who belonged to and are part of these totemic clan wells. 796 535

The dancers continue moving around the circle of women. The leader calls out the sacred names of the yam sticks represented by the men's spears. The men then thrust them into the circle of women, while the women wiggle their buttocks back and forth under their ainmaras.

The men dance around the women in two lines, one going one way and one the other.

After the leader has "called up" the yam stick, he follows it with the power name of ainmara. The men dance this, the women still lying under the ainmaras. The leader next calls out the power name of semen. After that he calls up the ranga marikmo for the various wells. The wells and ancestors are divided according to whether they are supposed to "belong to the ocean cycle of songs or the land cycle." The women get up. The leader changes the beat of his sticks from a slow rhythm to a kind of rapid syncopation. The women still stay in the ring.

2. This section of the ceremony now ends, unless it is decided to enter the ocean for ceremonial bathing. Instead of proceeding to the water, as is done when the ceremony is not a Duni, the men usually call out water; the crowd disperses and the people return to their various clan countries. The leader says at this time, "All you men go look for red parrots and make a big supply of feather string. By and by, after the rain, we will start again. We will wait for next time until the palm food is ready." The various wooden emblems are placed in the mud of the clan wells for later use. 796

This part of the ceremony has taken a month, perhaps two or three months, since the dances are repeated over and over on the men's totemic ground before the men go out into the main camp to perform the final rite with the women.

Native Interpretation.—The lines of men who dance into the camp to the ring of women and boys are supposed to be the crowd of Wongar yolno who came up when the old man incestuously "raped" the younger Djunkgao sister. They are also the two Djunkgao sisters 796 113

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with their yam sticks. The usual interpretation of this element in the ceremony is: "Those dancers come in in two groups. They are the crowd of Wongar yolno who came up when that old man tried to play with that young girl. Those two crowds mean two 'lines' [Yeritja and Dua lineages]. Those two women said, 'We'll make two lines for marriage now.' When that woman got up the man got up too. She was frightened. Those two danced when they got up. They danced just the same as we dance now at the place in the Narra. Men and women dance now because of that."

The ring of women is supposed to be at the place where the Djunkgao sisters put their ainmaras down, and the dancing around them again symbolizes the unlawful sexual attack upon the Djunkgao sister. "That ring [the circle of women] means that smooth place those two Djunkgao women made before they put their ainmaras down. When that young girl went to sleep she did not know that old man was going to try to copulate with her. He tried and tried to enter her. By and by that white stuff came out and went all over that girl's body and not inside her. That is why they wash themselves. That is why we wash ourselves now. When the women paint themselves before they go in that ring the inside meaning is the semen of the two Wongar men who tried to have sexual intercourse with the young Djunkgao women."

The men's spears which are thrust into the group of women sometimes symbolize the yam sticks of the Djunkgao sister, as is demonstrated (1) by the men using them as canes, as the sisters did their yam sticks; and (2) by the leader's calling out the sacred names of the yam sticks for the spears. At the moment when the "yam stick" is thrust into the ring of women it is supposed to be symbolical of the penis of the incestuous Wongar yolno. "This old man who tried to play with that young sister was uncircumcised. He was not Yiritja and he was not Dua. The two sisters were Dua from the beginning." When it is explicitly thought of, these old Wongar yolno were neither Yiritja nor Dua, but there is an implicit feeling that they were Dua.

"They [the men who are painted as kingfishers] are painted that way, but 'inside' they dance those yolno. They dance those Wongar yolno and the two old women with their yam sticks at the same time." This statement signifies that the kingfisher dance has a twofold meaning. At some moments in the ceremony the dancers are the two sisters and at other moments the men. "Those kingfishers are also proper men the same as men now, and they are looking for food and

for sexual intercourse." This explicitly states the relationship of their 796
feeling toward modern man's activities and toward the activities of 773
the old Wongar men.

D. Sea Tides and Flood Waters Are Danced

1. The tides of the ocean and the floods are danced; certain birds 796
and animals are included.

1. The following dry season word comes in from the various clan [202]
groups that they have red parrot string ready. The leader then sends out word that a Narra ceremony can be held. The messengers are decorated with red parrot feather armlets and may carry a miniature Dua totemic emblem carefully wrapped in paper bark. The ceremony [616]
can take place in either a Yiritja or a Dua camp ground, even though the performance is Dua. This statement is true with the possible exception of the Gwiyula clan; they seem to have a strong feeling that their ceremony ought to be held at their own well. Yiritja men can dance with Dua men.

The men and women of the various clans arrive and bring the parrot feathers or parrot feather string they have accumulated during the year. Ideally, many rangas should be made, including, in addition to the others named earlier in this chapter, fire, basket, labia minora, and the other totemic emblems that belong to the clans of the Dua moiety. The rangas that were made the year before are taken out of the mud, washed, painted with red ocher, and the parrot string put on them. The men paint their bodies and faces with red ocher. White clay is put on their bangles. It takes several days to prepare the totemic emblems properly. While the men are engaged in these preparations, the women have been industriously collecting lily bulbs, palm nuts and yams to supply the men with food for the period of the ceremony. Some of the men carry food from the various camps to the Narra ground. This dance ground is the same as the small quadrangle used in the Duni, except that the borders are made with heaped-up earth.

The first dance is spring flood water. The line of men dance back 796
and forth, following the leader or calling out, "Ai—e!! Ai—e!!" which 535
is the water coming down; when they turn and retrace their steps they call out, "Um—um ye," which is the tide returning. They next dance the ocean. The leader calls out, "Let! Let!" and when the dancers turn, "R-R-R-irt!! R-R-R-irt!!" the cries of the red parrot from the tree tops.

796 535 The leader again sings out, "Ai—e! ! Ai—e! !" and when the dancers turn, "Um—um ye! !" and then, "Mo-mu-tun [the roar of the sea], yam-ber-wong-a [the stir of the sea water when the wave breaks], burl-ol-lum [pools of boiling sea water following the break of the wave], ma-rai-ma-ra-yun [the wash of the waves covering the sand beach]," and finally again, "Um—um ye [the tide returned from the ocean]," and "Ben-bur [conventional ending to a song and dance sequence]."

Iguana is now danced. The leader sings out, "Gun-bor gun-bor [conventional announcement in the Dua Narra that the sacred name of a totem is to be called; it means nothing, according to the natives, but the two Djunkgao women sang it in their time], Djun-dam-a-la [the iguana], Gun-bor gun-bor man-ni-mur-a, Gun-bor gun-bor kui-pi-di [iguana power names]." The chorus of dancers moves to the back of the dance ground, and a solo dancer comes out of the crowd and dances to the front, arms raised sideward, elbows bent. He is an iguana. The red parrot, represented by one of the dancers, listens while the iguanas call out. He thinks it is a man making that noise and he is afraid.

796 535 773 *Native Interpretation.*—One of the native interpretations of the various dancing of water for the Narra ceremonies is: "We dance water for the Narra because it brought those two women on those paper-bark rafts. They pulled those rafts with yam sticks for paddles. We dance the water when it is all the same as the tide going out and then coming back again. We dance the sea making a roar, and we dance the way water does when the waves stop, and the pools of boiling sea water, and the waves coming on the sand beach when those two old women came. When those two old women got ashore they heard a parrot and went farther and found iguana and danced it and a Wongar iguana danced too. That's why we dance iguana now." The parrot cries symbolize the red parrot watching the two women walking along the beach.

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E. The Ceremony Around the Tree in the Women's Camp

1. The women gather around a tree in their own camp. The men march in and the women run away. The sacred names of different clan wells are called out.

1. After dancing water, the men go to the main camp; they march in single file, beating their spears with their spear-throwers. They are Wongar yolno.

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Before they arrive, the women have left their separate camps and gathered around a tree. They sing out in answer to the men as the men come on. The leader calls out the big name of a catfish, "ka-pi-la." When the sacred name of the catfish is said, the women run away. This name is also supposed to represent the well of a clan which is supposed to be far in the interior, possibly near the upper waters of the Roper River (Ba-rel-ku country). The women return and gather around the tree. The leader climbs the tree and calls out the power names of the well where the women first came on shore and the names of all the old Wongar men who lived in that well. He beats his singing sticks very rapidly and then comes down. He sings out caterpillar (the edible variety). The women dance with their elbows flexed and shake their bodies in a syncopated rhythm. The leader calls out the name of another well and once more the name of the catfish, while the men put their baskets in their mouths and bite them. Two men with their hands clasped behind them then walk with long deliberate steps, much in the manner of the military goose step of the parade grounds. They dance a short distance to the right, then turn on their heels and retrace their steps. While they move back and forth they and the chorus sing out, "R-R-R-T-wa!!! R-R-R-T-wa!!" which is supposed to be the call of the white duck, the bird they are dancing. They are succeeded by pairs of dancers until all have gone through this performance, which finishes the ceremony for the night.

Early every morning and again in the evening this performance (Section E), from beginning to end, is repeated for possibly two or three months. The morning ceremony is performed before breakfast and the evening ceremony is held at twilight, before the evening meal. The only variations occur in the order of the sacred names of wells called out. The entire cycle of Dua totem wells is called out at one time. At times some of the well names are repeated. Only the power names of the Dua wells are said during the Dua Narra, but it is felt that it is imperative to call every one of them. It is highly possible that many of the wells which are supposed to be found in the extreme interior are not real.

On the final day the last well dance is performed in the *middle* of the day. That night the men go to the Narra ground and light bushes and paper bark and carry them to the main camp. The men sing "ben-bur." After the fire the ranga string can be given to the Yiritja in trade. Some of the men say, "Are we going to put these [strings] in the mud again?" [438]

796 438 The leader replies, "We can't do that now. We must keep the string and sell it to another man so that he can make presents to us."

The people say, "All right, we'll do that. We'll only sell this string this time to the Yiritja people. We'll sell them to our wakus and our dués and our galles. We'll put this wood in the mud; we'll keep this string for presents."

796 173 *Native Interpretation.*—The fire that is carried to the main camp by the men is supposed to represent the fire which the women thought destroyed their totemic baskets but which the Wongar men had lit to fool the women when they stole their baskets from them.

"When the women dance around that tree and sing out when the men call, that means those two Wongar women put their yam sticks [rangas] in that tree. It's all the same ranga in the well."

"Those two Djunkgao mielks made those wells. They walk along, squat down, stick yam sticks in the ground and put rangas there. We people come from those wells today. We get our names from those wells. Those two mielk Wongars gave those names to our old marikmos. All our big names come from those wells from our marikmos. All the old marikmos were Wongar men and all the Narra wells are Wongar wells. All Dua wells were made with yam sticks and those two old mielks were walking."

The relation of the giving away of the ranga string to fire is given the following interpretation: "You must have fire before you can give away that ranga string to the Yiritja because those Wongar people did steal their rangas from the women. Those old men thought, 'We stole those rangas from those women. Are we going to sell them or are we going to put them in the mud, string and all?' Their leader said to them, 'We can't. We must keep them and sell them to another man so he can give presents to us.' After this the people said, 'All right, we'll do that. This will cut out the guratu [relationship] lines, and we'll sell this ranga to the Yiritja. We'll put the wood in the mud and give them the string.' We shave for this too."

"We never give that ranga wood away. It is sent back to the well. If a man gave it away his people would kill the man he gave it to." (This is the ideal, but in reality the totemic wood is given away, although there is a feeling against it.)

The information quoted above came to me when one of the better leaders of the Narra ceremonies was describing how the ceremonies were carried out. It is almost impossible for a Murngin to describe

a ceremony without dropping into the mythological reasons for doing 796
it. 773

"All those Dua wells are danced because those two women put their dilly bags and ranga string in their [large string] bags and they went out to look for shellfish and they went inside the mangrove. Those Wongar yolno they went and stole that dilly bag and yam sticks and ranga string and they took it away. Those yolno burned the grass around that basket so those two women could see that fire and think their camp fire had burned over and burned up that basket. When the two women came back they said, 'It's no one's fault but our own. Our fire did it.' Each sister quarreled with the other for the burning of the red parrot feather and string.

"They took their own baskets from their heads. They think about the way they had done before and were sorry they hadn't put their other baskets in a clean place. They heard the sound of singing sticks from inside the jungle. They knew then that Wongar yolno had stolen their baskets and ranga string. They thought first they would go and take it away from them. They ran with that basket. They came close and saw the men were singing the Narra song. They thought, 'It is no good now, we must work. We must get food for the men.' "[a]

"The meaning on that basket is when young people sneak up now and play with mielks they do that like old yolno did. We people do wrong the same way. We must clean him up the same way."

One man who had had missionary training said of this part of the ceremony, "It is just the same as the Heaven people do wrong when God say, 'no more touch that tucker[b] on that tree,' and they do anyway."

F. The Ring of Women Repeated (See Section C)

In the morning all the men shave and leave only the small "Van 796
Dyke" beards. "They shave because they are taking the string off 302
those rangas and selling it to the Yiritja." The same thing is done, however, if the string is sold to the relatives who belong to their own moiety.

After the men have shaved there may or may not be a dance, 796
usually not. All the ceremonies are put off until the next day, when 535
wallaby and kingfisher are danced. At the last dance the kingfishers enter into the main camp for the first time. They behave much as

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[a] This and the foregoing paragraph offer a conspicuous example of how the native, in attempting to explain the ritual, draws on the myth.

[b] Food: Australian-white term.

796 535 they did in the first ceremony. They walk with spears in their hands, which, at the moment, symbolizes the yam sticks of the two Djunkgao sisters. They continue until they come to the ring of women, as described in the duni or red-ocher part of the ceremony. The kingfishers also represent the modern Murngin man looking for food and sexual intercourse. In a way, too, they are Wongar yolno. After the kingfishers have performed a dance around the women they thrust the short spears among the group to symbolize the Wongar yolno's original breaking of taboo against sexual relations with women of one's own group; then they return to the men's ceremonial ground.

G. THE BRUSH TURKEY TOTEM IS DANCED AND DISPLAYED

1. The totem emblem of a turkey is danced in the Narra ground.
2. The initiates are shown the totem.

[302] 1. Some distance back from the men's dance ground, groups of men have been painting themselves like turkeys. They represent the brush turkey totem. Fires are built all around the men just as fires are built on the plains when turkeys are hunted. The turkeys dance through the fires while an old man beats the singing sticks and leads them toward the men's dance ground. They carry the totem. One man dances a pantomime of a brush turkey out in the plains.

796 561 784 852 2. Small boys are put at the head of the dance ground and are shown the various lower age-grade types of totems by the old men (see list of totems, pages 39-51). They cannot see the ones that belong to higher age grades. After they have looked upon the totems which have been strongly taboo to them until this time, they must eat only bush food until after they are painted and have made presents to the leader. Looking at the totem serves as an initiation rite. After the boys have seen the totems, all the men dance once more to the main camp, where again the kingfisher ceremony is gone through with the women under their ainmaras.

796 113 *Native Interpretation.*—"When the turkeys come in, that means by and by the Yiritja are coming up. Those fires are built all around. This is all the same as making a fire in the plain by those Wongar men. When Wongar men built the fires those Wongar turkeys came up too and looked."

796 H. THE MEN AND WOMEN BATHE CEREMONIALLY

1. All the men, women, and children enter the sea and wash themselves.

1. When this is completed the women and children all run into

the ocean, preceded by the flatfish and catfish whose songs are being 796 ●
sung. A small bundle of paper bark is constructed. It represents a catfish. It is hit rhythmically against the ground while the groups of men dance the black goose dance.

On the seashore or river bank, according to where the ceremony is 796
being held, two men come out of the chorus of geese (Dua) and dance 535
black duck (Yiritja). The black ducks dance into the water first and stir it up. The geese (the rest of the men) follow. When the ducks enter the water they call out the names of the black duck ranga wells. All the men, women and children wash themselves. Two rings are formed out in the water.—These dances are danced only when the tide is in, for the practical reason that the dancers do not want to walk out on the long mud flats.

After they come out of the water the men dance the two fish songs again, two men at a time, chasing each other and moving back and forth across the beach.

Native Interpretation.—The men dancing catfish on their way 796
down to the water, followed by the women, are supposed to symbolize 535
the two Djunkgao women going down to the ocean after the illegal 113
intercourse of one with the yolno man. A superficial interpretation or rationalization of this behavior is that "when that catfish came out and went into the water it was all the same as those two Djunkgao mielk following the fish and trying to catch them in the ocean. It's all the same too for that flatfish. Those people are all the same as goose trying to catch that catfish."

"Duck goes into the water first, he makes the water dirty and goose follows. That black duck belong Yiritja well and he sings out the name of that well. This is all the same as in a billibong. We always
see black duck go in and make the water dirty and goose comes [825]
behind." (This refers to the seasonal appearance of the black duck before the geese in the fresh-water lakes in the area.)

"When we wash, that means we're taking that semen off those women and making ourselves clean, and that means too the Narra is close up to finish. That white clay on the women means before this world only ocean, rain fall down and make foam, that makes this land. That white stuff goes from inside the bush, too, all the way to the Crocodile Islands."

"*Dua* people make rangas because Wongar yolnos and those two mielks did wrong a long time ago. It's all the same as two Dua play with each other now. It was a guratu [kinship] wrong. That Wongar

796 yolno and mielk went to swim in the sea and made themselves clean
535 and they cut out that wrong. That's why we dance the same way now
to cut out that wrong."

773 The thinking here shows that both the Yiritja and the Dua use the same symbols, but the Dua identify the white paint with uncleanliness and the Yiritja identify it with foam.

796 I. THE TOTEMS ARE SHOWN TO THE YOUNG MEN

884 1. The lower totems are shown the youths by lines of dancing men.

535 1. The women give the men palm food so that the leader can feed all the men. He informs the men that they will wait to eat until they go back inside the men's ceremonial ground. They return to the dance ground and once more take their totemic emblems out of the "bush house" or from the hollow trees used as a hiding place. All the men stick red parrot feathers on their chins with honeybees' wax. Red ocher is painted on the face. The leader says, "Are you prepared now?"

"Yes," they say.

"Are all the totemic emblems here?"

"Yes; what are we going to do now?"

"Let the young men who have beards and moustaches move."

Everything is very quiet now and there is no laughter. There must not be any laughter. A bird called a djunmal (possibly a curlew) is danced by one of the men in the Narra dance ground. He represents the tide coming in. Another bird called the ka-url-dal-por-al (a variety of the kingfisher) dances with him. The djunmal climbs a tree and the kookaburra (kingfisher) another nearby. The djunmal emits the cry of this bird, which means that the tide is coming in; the natives believe the djunmal sings just before the tide comes in. A line of old men dance forward. Their backs and necks are bowed; their eyes look down to the upturned palms of their two hands, in which they carry their totemic emblems. The kookaburra now sings that the tide is going out, when the men turn and retrace their steps. Thus the old men dance back and forth, as the tide is high and then low, high and then low, while the two birds sing alternately with the dancers' change of direction.

796 *Native Interpretation.*—The Dua Narra rangas were all brought by
773 the Djunkgao women. The Yiritja rangas have the integrating factor of the spring floods and tides. "All the Yiritja rangas were brought by the flood and tides. The big rain made that big flood."

(The beards, too, emphasize the manliness of the young men in an

age-grade sense. Their beards demonstrate their belonging to the ma- 796
ture men's age grade. The red parrot feather decoration on the 773
beards helps to ritualize this symbol of manliness.)

J. The Higher Totems Are Shown the Older Men

1. The old men leave the young men and show their higher totems 796
to each other. 535

1. Following the ceremony of showing the totems to the older 561
young men, who represent an age-grade stratum of the male division of the tribe higher than the recently initiated boys, iguana is repeated; then follows the sea-water dance which has been described, and finally iguana, with the usual conventional ending of "benbur benbur."

Only the older men see the higher rangas. The young men are left 796
and the older men go inside the bush to look at the rangas which only 561
they are allowed to see. The string is taken off all the totemic emblems 431
at this time. This string is presented to members of the opposite 616
moiety, or very frequently, as has been said before, kutara gives it to mari and mari to kutara (they are of the same moiety) as a demonstration of the solidarity of their relationship. If people who are somewhat distant, therefore a bit strange, ask for this ranga string, it arouses a considerable feeling of antagonism in the owner. It is usually said, "Have people lost their heads? Can't they think? We will just give them ordinary food later. We won't give them string." —"If they are very good friends we can give them food, but the food is not given a power name."

K. The Eating of the Sacred Bread, and Conclusion of the Ceremony 796 778

1. The bread is eaten by those of near kin.
2. The string is removed from the emblems and the neophytes are 574
instructed.

1. The leader sings over the palm bread (or yams) which is put in the ashes and cooked. He calls out the totem names of the various rangas (kookaburra, banitja, etc.). This is supposed to infuse the bread with the power names of the rangas and make it "just the same as a ranga," which means that the totemic spirit resides within the bread. Only the men who understand can eat this, which means only the men who are near relations and who have been initiated.

The Murngin always eat in this way after all ceremonies. To outside tribes the people say, "This is maraiin that belongs to the Narra,"

796 but the power name is not given to the food for them. The natives
778 agree that this food is eaten because all Wongar yolno did the same
574 thing. If the leader gives the food with his name to it to his friends
[688] from another tribe, his own clanspeople would wait until there was
an opportunity and kill him, because they do not want to have that
name go to another tribe.—All my most reliable informants gave me
this information.

Yiritja and Dua both eat this food, providing they are from one country, which really means, if they are closely related. My most intelligent informant said this: "Dorng and Ilkara [two men of the Liaalaomir group] can eat our food which has a big name because their sister married one of our people. It is all right for the Ritarngo to eat Warumeri and Wangurri food which has a big name because we have one ranga, because we are friends. Sometimes we give our ranga from the Warumeri side to the Ritarngo and they give us rangas from the land side. That is because that duck came from the Ritarngo to us in Wongar days."

796 2. The string is taken from the totemic emblems, wrapped around
the hand into a neat ball, and placed in a basket. The carved-log ranga
(see page 340) is hidden once more in the mud of the ceremonial
leader's totem well. It is said that the leader likes to have them all
[262] remain there. The men can eat no animal food, but only bush
(vegetable) food, until they have been painted. The old men say to
[867] them, "You must do what we tell you. Put your head and ears to
these things. You don't want to swear at your old men or your big
brothers. You want to talk a good way to them. We don't want you
to steal. You don't want to go running after other men's women."
[869] The old men also tell the younger ones which rangas belong to the
different totemic wells and which wells belong to the various clans.
This ends the Dua Narra ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—The old men say, "This makes one people."

THE YIRITJA NARRA CEREMONY

A. Preparation

1. The same general preparations are made as those before the Dua Narra.

1. The Yiritja Narra ceremony parallels the Dua Narra rites. After a log has been cut, scraped, and carved, the leader sends out word to the various surrounding clans that a Narra is to be held. A Duni

(here Sections A, B, and C) frequently is given first, not only because 796 of lack of materials, as was stated for the Dua Narra ceremony, but also because it is felt that it makes the log "stronger" and better. Various people arrive; they bring balls of opossum fur and string. Opossum fur is a decorative material used for Yiritja ritual and [237] symbolizing this moiety just as red parrot feathers are the materials for decorating Dua ceremonial objects.

The same preparations are made for carving and painting the 796 totemic emblem; "flood" from the totemic wells flowing to the sea 535 and "ocean tides coming in" are danced on the Narra grounds which have been made on the old men's grounds. Instead of dancing red parrot and water, the Yiritja dance bandicoot and water. Flood water is danced back and forth on the small quadrangle, then the leader calls out:

> "Bir-ka bir-ka (conventional Yiritja announcement of Narra power words) djar-a (spring water)
> Bir-ka bir-ka mill-yar-ui (tree growing out of a spring)
> Bir-ka bir-ka ga-urn ga-urn (gravel boiling in spring water)
> Bir-ka bir-ka ka-ku-lor-oi (small rocks in the bottom of a spring)
> Bir-ka bir-ka kar-a-ko-ar-oi (a small valley where the water runs)."

Once more the sound of water is repeated and a new dance is started. The leader calls out the power names of bandicoot. All the chorus gets down on its knees and elbows while the leader sings out, "Gorn-djur-djur [bandicoot] yer-mer-da [bandicoot]." The bandicoot always follows water in the Yiritja ceremony, after which the men return to the general camp. As they march along in single file, the leader walking to one side, they call out "Kar-ra-ark! Ye!" This is supposed to be the name of the tree which the leader usually climbs when he calls out the power names in the main camp. It also lets the women know that they must run and be gathered at the tree when the men arrive.

When the men arrive in the main camp and approach the tree the 796 women run away from it and return to their huts. The leader runs straight toward the tree and points at it with his singing stick while he calls out its power name. Any convenient tree is picked for this purpose and it can be of any species, providing it is large enough for the leader to climb when the occasion arrives.

796 773 *Native Interpretation.*—The natives make a clear distinction between the Yiritja and the Dua Narra rites, but basically they are exactly the same. The formulae at the end of the songs in the Yiritja and Dua are different, and other formalized elements have slight variations; but in the fundamentals the structures of the two ceremonies are very similar, and the interpretations given are much the same. Because the two Djunkgao sisters were supposed to be Dua, there is a feeling that the Yiritja ceremony is associated with the floods and not with the women.

[535] The natives say they dance bandicoot right after water because he comes out of the bush first after the rain time, scratching small holes to look for food.

The women run away from the tree, say the natives, because the two old sisters ran in their time when the men approached them.

796 B. The Men Dance with the Carved Wood of the Totemic Emblems

1. The men shave themselves as in the Dua Narra.
2. The quail and fire dances are performed.
3. The totems are shown and the totemic bread eaten.
4. The women paint and the men go to the men's ground.

[302] 1. The men shave, leaving only the small "Van Dyke," putting heated honeybee wax on the beard and pulling it out. The leader then calls out the power name of Banitja (see list of totems, pages 34-48), one of the more important Yiritja totems:

"Bir-ka bir-ka banitja
Bir-ka bir-ka djir-lir-war-a (barrimundi)."

796 535 2. Following this song, the leader and the chorus dance quail (djerkiŋ). The quail is supposed to be the leader for fire and is therefore the leader for shaving with hot wax. After this dance the people become inquisitive and want to know what will be next. "What will we do?" they say. "Shall we tie our opossum string to our totemic emblems? What will we do?"

The leader says, "No, we will leave them."

796 533 3. While the totemic bread is being eaten and sung over in the men's ground, the totemic emblems are painted, the same procedure gone through, and the same attitudes taken as in the Dua Narra. The leader sings the water cycle of songs, with bandicoot taking the prominent lead. A totemic well next is sung, then mud and man-

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grove fish are called out. The last is a variety of borer found in the 533
trunks of mangrove trees and is Yiritja. The totemic emblem is then
painted with yellow lines representing the totems.

4. The leader directs that red ocher and white clay be sent to the 796
main camp. One or more old men have been left in this camp to look
out for the women and children. The old men direct the women while
they paint. The women paint themselves to represent barrimundi and [382]
albatross (marn-ba), creatures associated with the sea tides and not
the flood.

Native Interpretation.—The association of quail with fire is inter- 796
preted by the Murngin: "Quail is the boss for fire and Narra time. 733
We call out that one when it is time to light the fires and we carry
his ranga. Quail has a ranga and he is in the Narra ceremony." The
quail in Wongar days, according to myth, threw some fire about and
burned his feathers. Further, the quail is usually found in the low
brush when it is fired during the burning season.

C. They Dance Around the Ring of Women 796

1. The same general outline of dancing is followed as in the Dua 535
Narra; different animals and birds appear.
2. The totems are placed in the clan wells.

1. The men leave the ceremonial grounds and go to the main camp, calling out the big name of white clay:

> "Bir-ka bir-ka bu-lor-mar-mar (white clay)
> Bir-ka bir-ka gar-wa-wa (yellow paint stone)
> Birka-bir-ka mar-ku-la (white bubbles caused by barrimundi biting at fish)."

When they arrive near the camp, leader and chorus sing "birka birka marnba [a sea bird]." Near the entrance to the camp two men dance marnba. One dances to the right, the other to the left. They both turn at the same time, retrace their steps, pass each other, repeat the figure a number of times, and then dance around the ring and are surrounded by the chorus.

The women by now are fully painted.

After dancing the marnba the men dance barrimundi and follow this with Yiritja honeybee. They then form a long file. An old man meanwhile has gathered the women into a ring. They are under their ainmaras. The men, with the spears in their hands, dance around the women. They are supposed to be dancing garrawark and sea foam

796 made by barrimundi. The leader sings out the names of their totemic
535 wells. He calls out first water and then a bangle made from the grass
surrounding the well. When the bangle is called out, all the women get up at one time. All the people then go into the ocean by clans as the men call out water. The bathing ceremony can be postponed until the next year. The men and women return to their separate camps.

796 2. All the visitors put their totemic emblems in the mud of the totemic wells so that the women and uninitiated cannot see them; they all then leave for their homes. The leader appoints a man to see that all the rangas are properly taken care of and are not disturbed. The Duni is over. During the Duni a true Narra ceremonial ground is not constructed. This has a formal outline and is made only for the larger Narra ceremony.

796 *Native Interpretation.*—Although the same general outline is followed in this part of the Yiritja ceremony as in the Dua, the inter-
773 pretations are not directly connected with the myth of the Djunkgao sisters, but are associated with Yiritja creatures, such as garrawark and other totems of this moiety, who have mythological stories attached to them. These myths have not been included with the Djunkgao myth because they fall more directly into the category of local organization stories (see Appendix VIII).

The white clay on the women, according to my informants, who were the leaders of a number of Narra ceremonies that I witnessed, means, "Before this world there was only the ocean. The rain fell down and made the foam. That made some of this land. That white stuff (foam) went from the Warumeri country to the Crocodile Islands. Garrawark, the great Yiritja totem, floated in on this and made Yiritja camps by sticking his horns in the land and splitting the ground and making wells and creeks. He named these places, too; he gave them their power names. We make our rangas from that. Dua people make their rangas because that Wongar yolno and those two sisters did wrong. It was just the same as two Dua having sexual intercourse. It was a guratu [a patrilineal line of relatives] wrong. That Wongar yolno and that small Djunkgao sister went into the ocean and swam and washed themselves and made themselves 'clean' and cut out that wrong from themselves. The Dua dance that way today and do the same thing for themselves. Our Yiritja Narra is different, but all the same." (See also page 354.)

"That fish tried to stop the water with this grass, but the water came too fast and went on. The fish was a bream [mart-bu-na] and is Yiritja." 796 773

"For Yiritja that white clay on the woman and on the men too is all the same as foam. Garrawark had that foam when he dived to make Narra wells. In the Yiritja ring when the dancers come it's all the same as a fresh-water 'tide' and pushes that bream along the ocean. This tide is fresh water from a heavy rain, that takes the bream down to the ocean."

When the people divide up into groups and everyone goes into the water according to his or her clan well, they are ducks, and "They *are diving down in their ranga well water.* Those ducks are all the same as a mate for that well. It means too they are all the same as Garrawark, because that Yiritja ranga been do that. He went down in that water and came out all the same as those people do." The washing, then, is no ordinary washing but is symbolical of being cleansed by the spiritual well water, and the act is the same as the totem's. There is a general story about the "tide" (flood) carrying the rangas down to the sea and of the sea tides pushing the flood waters back.

When the leader and his men paint the rangas and sing water it means that the water is being put on the red ocher and refers also to the original flood. When mud is sung it means: "You are not painting that ranga with mud but with red ocher, but it is like you paint him with mud and that mud is all the same as mud from the ranga well and where we put the ranga when we get through with it.

"We sing water running fast and rain coming. We start from rain. We do this because of that flood water. The water comes from the rain and runs down the creeks. We sing bandicoot first because he comes with the rain time. Bandicoot comes out and makes holes looking for food. We must sing bandicoot after water."

(The water dance in all these Narra ceremonies is supposed to be the primeval floods and tides. It has been amply interpreted before under the Dua heading.)

D. The Sea Tides and Flood Waters Are Danced

1. At the beginning of the new season new dances of the floods and tides are started. 796 202

1. When the dry season arrives again, the leader sends his son or

796 202 younger brother as a messenger to all the surrounding clans to announce the beginning of the true Narra ceremony. This messenger should be decorated with bangles which have streamers of opossum fur on them, but he is not always. One or two miniature garrawark totems covered with bark are made to serve as message sticks. The leader says, "You take this small ranga to all the people [Dua and Yiritja] and tell them we are going to start now. If people make trouble for you, show them this ranga, and they won't fight you or hurt you, because you are a messenger man."

796 The visitors begin to arrive before the messenger returns. Some distance from the camp, they call out rain cloud; when they are near, rain; then finally, flood water. They approach the camp in groups, singing "Ka-wa!" to announce their coming ceremonially. They call out the sound of well water running in the creek as they go to the leader in the main camp. They make a ring around the tree from which the leader of the Narra calls the power names (see page 357). The leader of each group of visitors climbs it and calls out the names of the visitors' clans.

[535] After a chorus has joined with two men in a crocodile dance, the men leave the main ground and go into the men's dance ground. They take a vegetable food with them. Each crowd of visitors goes through the same ceremony on its arrival.

After the first few visitors have appeared, the men start putting feathered string on their totemic emblems. The leader walks around among the groups and instructs them how to make the various emblems. Some people make Banitja, some Barrimundi. The Warumeri people, if they are there, will make dugong rib, garrawark, crayfish, dorsal fin of the whale, tail of the whale, as well as the other rangas named above. The Wangurri would do likewise. The Ritarngo do not have the garrawark, but in its place they make the black duck ranga.

796 535 The Narra dance ground is now constructed (or may have been constructed earlier) with heaped up earth to define its limits. The leader starts the bandicoot and water dance. If the dancers have rangas from the sea-way cycle of songs, they dance back and forth: they drag their spear-throwers on the ground, utter no sound, and run up and down the dance ground until they are almost exhausted. (This is the tide coming in and going out for a great distance.) The leader sings out: "Sis! ! Sis! ! Sis! !" This is the wind coming up. He

waves his mangel (spear-thrower) in the air: The water is coming higher and higher. The leader calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka man-bing-a (power name of water)
Bir-ka bir-ka kir-kir (foam)"

and continues through the waters' names of the Dua Narra (see page 357).

The leader and chorus then cry "Ye! A—Ah—O! Waw! [the tide coming in hard and the waves breaking], Um-um-um [water coming back]." Following this, the leader calls out the power names for crowds (see page 369), and the chorus replies: "A—Ah—Aah—Waw-waw-um-um-um," which is the tide coming back again. They are dancing with great rapidity back and forth across the dance ground. They wave their mangels on the ground to indicate a very heavy sea. The leader then calls out the power name of the diamond fish:

"Bir-ka bir-ka brin-ga-ye!"

All the chorus fall on their hands and knees and squat down, each individual beating the ground with his mangel, singing "Main-muk, main-muk," literally "good," but supposed to represent sheet lightning, which comes at the end of rain in the wet season.

Still sitting, the chorus hold hands and, while moving the trunks of their bodies forward and back slightly, swing arms back and forth in front of them. This is representative of the swimming of the diamond fish who is a Yiritja totem but does not have a totemic emblem made for him. He is supposed to have had one in the old days. His totem well was the sea, and his closest associate was the whale, who sometimes stands as a symbol of the sea. After this dance has been completed the men leave the Narra grounds and return to the main camp.

They call out "Kar-ra-ark Ye!" until they enter the camp of the women. The women have heard them coming and prepared themselves by gathering about the tree, as described on page 357; they run away when the men draw near. The leader of the ceremony climbs the tree and calls out the name of Wongar men who live in far-off places but who are not true yolno, then descends and calls out the power names again, and the chorus answers. Two, and possibly four, men now dance salt-water crocodile, who is Yiritja. If there are four men dancing, pairs stand abreast facing each other. They carry their knees high and move their elbows up and down while they dance

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796 535 back and forth, passing each other, turning, retracing their steps, repeating the figure a number of times. The pairs then dance with their heads together. It is a most intricate and difficult dance to learn, and is supposed to represent crocodiles swimming under water with only their nostrils thrust above the surface. This finishes the dancing for the evening.

796 The whole cycle of Yiritja wells is then called out, morning and night, until all the totem wells have been completed. Usually only one well is called out each night, although at times the names of two wells are sung by the leader and chorus. The totem well of the clan that is giving the ceremony comes last.

E. The Men Dance into the Women's Camp

796 1. The men go through the camp looking for food and bring the gathered food back to the leader and old men.

302 2. When it is almost time for a ceremony to end, the leader picks out a group of men and says, "You paint yourselves as bandicoots and water for the sea-way," and to others, "You paint whale," and to still others, "You paint jungle fowl." The men who paint themselves as jungle fowl put circular symbols all over their bodies to represent the egg. The circles are connected with straight lines which are supposed to be long string-like beans from a tree I was unable to identify. While the men are painting on the Narra grounds, five or six younger men who already have been painted as bandicoot come out into the camp. This is the way Banitja, the great totem, did in the old Wongar days. He came out looking for food because he had smelled it cooking. They have, in addition, yellow lines for the barrimundi, and white dots which represent the foam made by barrimundi biting at something. Others, supposed to be banitjas, may be painted as Yiritja honeybees, because Banitja came from the Koparpingu country, which has a honeybee totem.

796 When the dancers have come about halfway from the men's totem grounds the leader stops them and calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bur-lum-bul (foam)
Bir-ka bir-ka ko-wa-wa (yellow paint)
Bir-ka bir-ka mar-ku-la (red and yellow paint)."

They then all dance into the camp, calling out, "Kar-ra-ark Ye!" They go from hut to hut as though looking for something. They are supposed to be Banitja looking for food. The women get up and give 796 them some palm-food bread or yam bread which they have prepared. They also can give fish or honey. If the men received nothing from the women they would become very angry, and pick up their spears and threaten them. The women always give because, say the informants, they see this Banitja painted on the men.

After the men have made the circle of the camp they return to the dance ground. They do not eat the food they have been given, for they are young men. They take it to the older men who belong to a higher division in the men's group. If the young men should eat this food they would turn into old men immediately.

Certain totemic dances are danced and the leader then instructs all [535 the men to shave, leaving only the small tuft of hair at the point of 302] the chin. While everyone shaves, the leader calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka rao rao (power name for opossum string)."

The opossum string is put on the chin with hot honeybee wax. The strings are supposed to represent the white flowers of the lily. The above power name of the opossum string signifies to the dancers that the leader has chosen the land-way cycle of songs. If the leader had chosen the sea-way he would have called out the power name of the whale:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bul-tung-o, bir-ka bir-ka ma-rain-dji bi-lain-dji."

F. The Whale Dance

The leader and chorus dance water on the Narra ground as 796 described in earlier sections. Bandicoot is also danced, and then the 535 sea-way is followed through (diamond fish, waves, et cetera). No one talks then; everything is quiet. There can be no laughter. The men walk up and down the dance ground slowly and attempt to keep very still. This is supposed to be the sea water and the slow rising of the tides. The chorus splits into two groups. They stand at each side of the Narra dance grounds. They are all whales. Two men who have painted themselves like whales stand at each end of the Narra dance ground. The leader is in the middle of the ground. The leader walks up to and marches in front of one group of the chorus and stamps his foot, then turns and walks to the other group and stamps his foot. This is the way a man stamps his foot when he hits a whale with his paddle. After this, the leader covers with ainmaras the two men

796 535 painted to represent whales. He then stamps his foot in front of each. As he does this the men move beneath the ainmaras. They are supposed to represent a whale diving under the sea. The men shrug their shoulders to look like the back of the whale as he goes beneath the water. The "whales" also move their hands back and forth to imitate the movement of the fins of the whale. The leader and the two whales repeat their figure of the dance a number of times. The leader then calls out the power names of the whale, wi-ma-ri and nul-lan-dji. One whale then gets up and sits on top of the other. This means that the whales are copulating. Those Wongar whales did that in the old days. (The dugong totem dance, which may be substituted for the whale, is conducted in the same way.)

Once more the leader and chorus dance slow water, keeping as silent as possible. The tide is coming in. Finally the tide is supposed to reach Truant Island. The men sing "Um-wa-um-wa." The water is coming slowly up on the beach. (A Wongar yolno is coming in on the tide. He reaches the island and startles the jungle fowl. He hears a jungle fowl sing out when he gets on shore with his paddle.)

The chorus sits down and the leader calls out:

> "Bir-ka bir-ka ka-djirk-ker-ak (the call of the jungle fowl)
> Bir-ka bir-ka bun-bung-a bun-bung-a (jungle fowl)."

The dancers move their heads slowly about, imitating the jungle fowl listening to the sound of a man or animal in the underbrush below his perch. This part of the dance is repeated a number of times.

796 535 773 *Native Interpretation.*—When the leader sings out the power name of the whale, as well as those of all the other creatures, animals, men, plants, and the general phenomena of nature, it is, say the leaders of the ceremonies, as though they were asking for something. "That Wongar whale can hear. He is all the same as the head of the clan for all those whales. If we go to the salt water and we are a long way out and a whale comes along, we can take sweat from under our arms and put our hands in the water, and we can put that water in our mouths and sing out the power names of that whale. It is just the same as if we were asking him for something. Our old Wongar mari and marikmo and gatu hear that and they go to that whale and turn him and keep us from harm. It is all the same as if we say to that Wongar whale, 'Don't hurt me.' That whale takes Warumeri dead men on his back to the Island of the Dead. Porpoise takes Dua men. We do

We do not eat the whale because his food is not good. If one floats up on the seashore we use his ribs for rangas." [262] 796

"When the dancers shrug their shoulders in the whale dance it means those whales [who are diving] are copulating. That's the way those Wongar whales did. Dugongs do the same way too." 173 535

"That jungle fowl belonged to the Wongar yolno who owned that house. He was a true jungle fowl when he was in Wongar days."—"He was not a man at this time, but a bird."

G. THE RING-OF-WOMEN DANCE IS REPEATED (SEE SECTIONS C AND F) 796

After this the leader says, "We will all go out to the main camp now." When the women see them coming they gather in a circle and squat beneath their ainmaras. The men dancers walk, pulling their spear-throwers after them. They are calling out the power name of water and are supposed to be dancing it. Near the camp, they call out once more the name of water, and then the leader sings out power names of cloud, barrimundi, and the albatross. When they reach the women, two men who are albatross walk around the ring. 535

The leader calls out barrimundi. The chorus, who are standing, jump in the air in imitation of the barrimundi leaping out of the water, and then, while holding their spear-throwers, dance around the ring of women. The men form two lines, a flood group and a sea-tide group. While dancing around the women they pull their spear-throwers along the ground as before, to symbolize a low tide, then raise their spear-throwers, which means the tide is growing higher, until finally it has reached full water. The leader says now, "We'll awaken these women."

When the dancers come they are the same as fresh water and they push the bream out into the ocean. The leader then calls up rain water running in floods down the creeks, and he runs around the ring. He then calls out bangles and the grass from which they are made, found near the totem wells. (See the first account in the duni version, page 360.)

Native Interpretation.—"The albatross flies around and around a canoe when it is out at sea or when it sees anything there on the ocean." 796 173

The women are the two Djunkgao sisters but they are also bream fish, for when the bream had come a long way he lay down, using an ainmara because he was tired. When the leader says, "We'll awaken these women," the reference is to the sleep of the two Djunkgao sisters.

H. The Men, Women and Children Bathe Ceremonially

796 The women get up. All the men and women, both Yiritja and Dua go down to the ocean. When they get close to the water they form into several groups. The division is made on the basis of the wells from which the men and women come (i.e., clan).

796 536 When the groups are near the water the two men who are painted as albatross leave the chorus and dance in a circle, one going to the left, the other to the right, while the leader beats his singing sticks. They approach the water, take a little from it in their hands, and throw it upon the people. In this new dance figure the chorus has changed from the bream, which has been swept into the sea by the flood water, and is now a flock of black ducks. When the men throw the water on the others it is supposed to represent the albatross shaking himself and throwing the water from his feathers on the ducks.

The chorus and the two men sit down. All the men are carrying spears. They hold their spears in front of them parallel to the ground. Once again the symbol of the dancers changes, for the spears mean that they are now water, that a heavy rain which has carried sticks and leaves has come down and left them in a line on the beach. Everyone starts moving back and forth; the fresh-water flood has taken the leaves down to the shore and the salt water is carrying them back. The dancers put the spears down: the water leaves all the logs, sticks and other refuse on the shore and the heavy fresh water has receded and left the refuse on the high banks. The leader now calls out the power name for a line of refuse on the beach or on the river bank: "Bir-ka bir-ka ka-lain-dja (a line of leaves, sticks, et cetera, left by fresh or salt water) bir-ka bir-ka rar-kal-noom (water moving this line of brush)." This song is sung while the spears are being put on the ground. The black duck call is once more given:

"Bir-ka bir-ka mu-tal-li (black duck)
Bir-ka bir-ka dirrt-dun (duck paddling with its legs)
Bir-ka bir-ka mar-ka-lai-in (duck flying away)
AA-a-ah!! A-a-ah!! (the tide coming back)
Dirk—Dirk—Wah!!!
Le—le—le (tide bringing stones [ducks' eggs])
Lir-lir-lir (tide coming up and leaving the little stones on the ground)."

796 The leader then again divides the people into two groups: those who belong to the totemic wells connected with the land cycle of songs, and

those who are supposed to have been born into the sea cycle of totemic wells. 796 All divide further into groups according to the wells to which they belong. All the names of the old men who belong to these wells (mythological people usually) are called out. The leader calls his own marikmo, mari, and similar relatives last. When this is done, all go into the water, one clan at a time. They swim, completely immerse [481] themselves, and wash their faces and bodies. When the leader says "Ka-war!" they stand up. When he calls out "Ka-war!" again they once more swim and wash themselves. The leader takes each crowd and again calls out the names of its grandfathers (patrilineal line). This is continued until he has come to his own well. Everybody returns to the ground where the ring of women were. Four or more men dance the crocodile and another group dances a small fish; [535] these two groups are fresh-water fish and crocodiles going out into the sea.

Native Interpretation.—"That fresh water is carrying sticks and leaves down from the bush and it leaves it in a line [the spears of the men dancers]. When everybody dances back and forth that means that fresh-water flood takes the leaves down to the shore and the salt water carries them back. We put the spears down because that salt water leaves all that log and sticks and leaves on the shore when the heavy flood brings it down when the creeks are high."

The cry of "kawar" is supposed to be the sound made by a duck when it is diving. The people are ducks and they are diving down into their ranga well water. These ducks, say the leaders of the ceremony, are just the same as younger brothers to the wells to which they belong. It means, too, they say, that it is just the same as garrawark or any other Yiritja ranga diving in his well.

I. The Low Totems Are Shown

The leader then says, "We will take all our food that the women have gathered and go into the Narra place. We won't cut our food here, but we will wait and go there." When they arrive at the totemic grounds the men put their opossum string on their beards. The leader then says to certain of the men, "You take the garrawark totemic emblem, and you take barrimundi, but don't bring out any of the high rangas. You must leave them there because those rangas look out for that ground. They are too far down inside the well for the young men to see." Each totemic group brings out its own rangas which belong to the lower order. The Warumeri will bring out the totems listed as

● 796 crayfish, garrawark, barrimundi, whale and whale rib; but the high
rangas, such as black duck's egg and large basket, will not be displayed.
The chorus of men and the leader start dancing again on the Narra
796 dance ground. They dance spring floods and salt water. The old men
535 hold their totemic emblems in front of them in the same way that the
Dua do, except that they are supposed to be representing the movement
of the fresh-water flood down to the sea and the movement of the
sea back again. The young initiates stand in front of them at the
[869] head of the Narra grounds. Two men stand beside them and instruct
them in the meanings of the dances and of the totems. When the
garrawark totem is carried, it is thrust in the ground, and the various
totemic wells it is supposed to have formed are named. The leader
then calls out the power names of garrawark. He next calls out the
power names of spring floods while the men dance back and forth.
This is supposed to represent the original fresh-water flood which
carried all the totemic emblems down to the sea. The chorus next
dances crayfish. Their hands are moved jerkily to imitate its movements.
They whisper "E—e—e—." The leader calls out the sacred
name of the crayfish.

Native Interpretation.—See Dua Narra.

796 J. THE HIGHER TOTEMS ARE SHOWN (See the Dua Narra).

K. THE SACRED BREAD IS EATEN AND THE CEREMONY CONCLUDED (See the Dua Narra).

The Yiritja Narra is concluded with the eating of the totemic bread
in the men's ground after the old men have displayed the higher
totems to one another. The boys are admonished to conduct themselves
[867] according to the tribal standards, and food taboos are placed upon
them. (See the Dua Narra.)

178 acts as a repository for the totemic emblems after the Narra ceremonies.

The clan well as an organizing idea can be used in ritual and myth, but it has not the flexibility and ease of manipulation held by a small totemic object. The totemic emblem can be used in a ceremony as a concrete expression of the ideas of the sacred. It becomes a tangible expression of python, barrimundi, or some other totemic spirit. The infinite variety of ideas and feelings which are a part of the beliefs making up the totemic spirit can be symbolized and expressed in the concrete image of the totem, and this object can be manipulated in the rituals. The ritual handling of the totemic image can and does express, through a series of totemic dances, the various attitudes of awe, respect, and supplication, as well as the fundamental social ideas and myth-symbols which are a part of the totemic configuration. The neophyte holds his head down, the old men tell him of the respect and care with which he must treat the emblem, and how he must live his life under the code of Murngin morals after seeing this sacred totem. The totemic trumpet is blown over the initiates, and the myth-symbol of the great python swallowing the women is expressed; a man dances with an emblem in the Narra ground, and a certain myth of his clan is symbolically expressed; a man cuts his arm and while the blood pours from it the python trumpet is blown over him, and the profanement of the python pool with all its complex social ramifications and subtle implications of value and sanctions is expressed symbolically and simply because this concrete trumpet-emblem (imbued with totemic mana by the agency of the totemic design and totemic ritual and song) can be handled and moved and seen and heard.

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182 The great rituals like the Gunabibi and Ulmark, which bring together, from widely separated clans and tribes, people who often have old scores unsettled and are ready to burst into open conflict, function as organizing units of these people during the period of the ritual, and also after they separate, for, with the aid of the myth, the rituals leave in the minds of the natives a feeling of oneness, of relationship to the larger group. The peoples who attend the ceremony organize themselves spatially in accordance with their location in the horde—that is, they camp in the same direction and relative distance with respect to the host clan. For example, if the Warumeri gave a Narra, the Kalpu of the English Company Islands would be north of them, the Kalpa still farther north, the Liagaomir would be west, and so on. The subsection (see Chapter III on Kinship) enters

796
into certain ceremonies such as the Djungguan to regulate the ritual 182
behavior.

The ritual sanction of offending the ancestors and totems by start- 796
ing a fight prevents many feuds from breaking into open conflict.
This sanction or a similar one is absolutely necessary to allow the 182
ritual to remain an interclan and tribal affair. If the sanction and its 688
attendant action were not fully established, the disintegrating effect of 626
the clan solidarities and their associated antagonism to outside groups, organized by the blood feuds, would destroy the participation of a large number of groups and reduce the people who would participate in any one ritual to a residue composed only of clans and peoples closely connected by marriage. At times the blood-feud feeling is so intense that a ceremony is broken up, or the ceremony is not attended by the warring groups.

The rituals provide the only effective mechanisms which enlarge the social horizon of any individual or clan beyond his or its immediate neighbors. The kinship system with its asymmetrical marriage arrangements constantly pushes out into the larger culture and tends to increase the clan's participation in wider groupings; but in the face of the blood feud, organized on the basic unity of the clan and its intermarrying groups, this larger integration of the society on the basis of the kinship alone is impossible. Old rivalries for women are remembered and several generations of killings are not forgotten, which means that even though a man calls a somewhat distant tribesman "older brother" and is termed "younger brother" by him, the concepts of cooperation and solidarity that lie within these terms have no effect in restraining killings or the blood feud, since the feelings of loyalty to the local group and the near kin, as expressed in antagonism to outsiders, prevent an extension of the kinship system to others.

It is the larger rituals, then, with their most powerful religious totemic sanctions which do operate to restrain the local loyalties and seasonally allow a larger participation in the group. In certain instances they further tend to lessen the intensity of the dislikes of the conflicting groups following the dispersion of the larger groups. It must be remembered, however, that the mere bringing together of very large groups, as for example in the Gunabibi (to which people come from great distances), tends to create situations which may lead to battles after the ceremonies are over; but ordinarily a peacemaking duel follows the ceremony which is supposed to settle old fights and lead to a general friendliness.

Comparison of the Wawilak and Djunkgao Constellations

The western Wawilak myth tells of the wanderings from the south 773
of the two Wongar sisters who name the animals, localities, and wells
of the individual clans, as well as the countries, in their progress north- 182
ward. In the eastern Djunkgao myth two sisters do exactly the same 796
things except that they travel by water and by land. The Wawilak sisters break the fundamental rule of clan exogamy by committing incest with one of their own clansmen. The Djunkgao sisters do the same thing. The only difference in this part of the two myths is that the Wawilak adds the menstruation uncleanliness to the incest impurity. In the third and final element of both myths the ritual paraphernalia and mysteries are obtained by the men from the women and the latter admit their subordination: the Wawilak women tell the men how to conduct their rituals and give them up to the men; the Djunkgao lose their totems and therefore their rituals are stolen by the men. These two myths with their essential identity of plot have superficially elaborated their rituals into quite different patterns; fundamentally they are the same. The Narra rituals focus their attention on the individual clan wells, on their clan totems, and on the process of purifying the clan of its uncleanliness. The Wawilak rituals place their emphasis on the totems of one well, although the other wells are brought in by inference (all the snakes in the myth hold a conversation in the sky). The Wawilak rituals emphasize the ceremonial uncleanliness and the final purification of the group but with a different set of symbols from those of the Djunkgao rituals. The Narra ceremony repeats and thereby emphasizes uncleanliness and purification. The Wawilak rituals accent purification by the snake's swallowing the women, but rather explicitly symbolize profanement as a separate element in the Dua Narra kingfisher and spear dances, the center of this ritual.

This identification of the two myths and the fundamental sameness 773
of the two rituals help us to obtain a deeper insight into the concepts 182
of the Djunkgao than we could obtain if we had only the Narra 783
rituals to analyze. The two sisters by their incestuous act lose the 796
totems to man. This incestuous act also causes the cycle of the seasons and of reproduction. The symbol of this uncleanliness is the semen of their incestuous partners, and their purification consists of washing this impurity off their bodies. The Murngin people reenact symbolically the mythological cleansing in the ritual of the community baptism. The water cleanses them as it does in the symbol of the snake (water)

796 773 182 783 swallowing the women in the Wawilak myth. The bathers in the Djunkgao rite must cover themselves entirely just as the Wawilak women were covered by the snake (water) in the western myth. After this the males are sufficiently clean to eat their ritual bread ceremonially.

773 796 In the Narra there is less definition of the various symbols than in the Wawilak group of rituals, and in the Yiritja Narra even less than in the Dua. In the Yiritja Narra the great floods bring the totems; the dances are basically the same as in the Dua, where there is the dance with the totems on the men's ground, the calling out of the entire list of clans of the moiety, the dancing in the ring, the use of spears, the ceremonial bathing, the later showing of totems, and the eating of communion bread. In the Yiritja there is no deviation from the fundamental pattern of the Dua Narra, but the mythology is explicitly attached to the ritual by making the foam (semen in the Dua ritual) land in the Yiritja ritual; and it is only by inference that the whole of the Yiritja Narra is seen to depend on the interpretation of the Dua Djunkgao ritual for its meaning; e.g., the ascendency of men over the women is demonstrated by calling out the names of the wells each night, which symbolizes the removal of the totems from the women.

796 Basically the totemic Narra ceremonies are, first, purification rites by which the whole group is "baptized" (and it is this element which is most emphatically accented); second, expressions of group solidarity in communal eating of purified totemic bread by the purified group; third, rites emphasizing both clan structure and rigid dual division (by showing clan totems and calling out names of clan wells, and by the division of the Narra ceremony into two—Dua and Yeritja—rituals when in reality it is but one). Of all the rituals involved in the high totemic ceremonies, the Yiritja Narra is the simplest and least elaborated in its expression and the Gunabibi and Ulmark the most proliferated and explicit.

773 778 The individual totems found in all the wells supposedly visited by Wawilak and Djunkgao women are all pieces of the general mosaic of the myth. For example, in the Liaalaomir where the Wawilak women visited there are the following totems: carpet snake's head, carpet snake's anus, caterpillar, carpet snake, carpet snake's neck, carpet snake's tongue (this is also lightning), an iguana, green ant, singing stick, a palm tree, ridgepole of a house, house rafters, uprights, forked stick used for house construction, sea gull, wood brought in on the

173 associated with mortuary rites or cleansing ceremonies throughout the
178 area, but in the north and east some of them also function as curing
rituals for sickness.

The Narra and garma myths all express the fundamental idea of
173 the movement backward and forward of the tides in the spring floods
●796 either in the present period or in the mythological past; the Wawilak
783 myth and ritual leave out the movement of the tide except in a minor
way, and concentrate on the flood. The essential formula of the Narra links together the sacred names of the moiety's clan water holes: the leaders shout out during an important part of the ritual in fairly exact order in a Dua Narra first only Dua clans and in a Yiritja Narra first only Yiritja clans. The moiety clan water holes are further tied together: in the Dua Narra by relating the names of the clan wells to the wanderings of the Djunkgao sisters; in the Yiritja by the actions of the various mythological creatures. That the underlying ideas of the Djunkgao myth are ceremonial uncleanliness and purification by means of the ritual is demonstrated by its following fundamental elements: (1) the women's wanderings and planting of the totems; (2) their incest and defilement; and (3) the taking of the totems by the men.

The Yiritja Narra account shows clearly that the spring flood is made not only by the rain but also by the rise of the water in the totem water holes which overflow at this time. In this ritual it seems rather an overflow of the totem well than a flood coming directly from the rain. In any case, the well water is always a strong contributing element to the flood covering the earth. The rise of the water, then, is something more than the symbolization of the flood as male and spiritual, as in the Djungguan; it is here an actual outflow of water from the sacred centers of the land, which causes the growth of new plants and animals and the refertilizing of the earth. It is the male principle fertilizing the earth. The women are covered with semen and made fertile, as is the land. The "white stuff" on the Djunkgao women was unclean and compelled purification by washing because the clansmen of old had broken the most fundamental law of the social code. The social relations needed purification and the bathing ritual resulted. The modern social organization needs purifying for past misbehaviors, particularly those of a sexual nature (see pages 78-90 for examples of sexual code infringement). It is felt that nature, inextricably organized on the pattern of man's social organization, needs purifying as man does, since both are in the same social

category, and when man "keeps from being sick" he at the same time 773
keeps nature from being sick. The rituals keep both man and nature 796
well and strong and allow them to reproduce and the fertility cycle of 783
both to continue.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RITUAL LOGIC OF MURNGIN TOTEMISM

We have now finally reached the point where we can analyze Murngin religious thought, for we have presented in detail, first, the relations of the myths to the rituals; second, the symbolization of the phenomena of nature in myth and ritual; and third, the symbolization of the social organization and its various segments in Murngin ritual. The articulation of these very complex elements of society and nature into a conceptual configuration which is Murngin totemic logic cannot be presented coherently by description alone. It will be necessary to resort to charts. 182

To delineate properly the logic of Murngin totemism, it is necessary first to examine what the ritual realities are in man's relations to the physical environment of northeastern Arnhem Land. We shall be concerned not so much with the obvious realities of the natural environment as with the social attitudes which man has in relation to the various aspects of this environment; both concepts are comprised in the single statement that nature acts on man and man acts on nature.

The technological behavior of man describes his realistic and logical 182
adjustment to his environment. Within this realm of his behavior his 821
attitudes are entirely logical, and his techniques relate him in a scientific way to nature. It will be necessary to restate a few general facts about the natural world in which the Murngin lives. This world consists of two seasons, a rainy and a dry. Man's adaptation to the former is difficult and his adaptation to the latter is comparatively simple and without effort. The total effects on man of the dry and rainy seasons, socially and physically, are felt as comparative degrees of ill-being and well-being (in behavioristic language, the effects of positive and negative stimuli.)

The Murngin definitely recognize the real relation in nature of the wet and dry seasons, and they understand that the former is necessary to produce the latter. They are also conscious of the physical as well as the social effects on man of the two seasons (see native interpretations of the two seasons and man in them, pages 378-386). The

765 [532] A foot below the "eyes" a band a half-inch wide is incised around the cylinder to represent the cicatrice on a native man's or woman's body.

The bones of the dead after exhumation are placed inside the coffin, a hole is dug a foot or so in the ground, and the log placed upright in the hole.

764 [531] *Grave Posts.*—A tree is felled and a log of the appropriate length cut from it. The post may be uncarved or a series of incisions may be made at the top of it to give it the appearance of a carved "head" with one or more necks.

The grave posts are placed over the grave of the dead, or they may be erected in the camp of a mourner to express his feeling of sorrow for the loss of his relation.

Measurements:

Length: adult, four to five feet; child, three and one-half feet.
Diameter: three to six inches.

765 *Bark Coffin.*—The inner bark of a stringy-bark tree is soaked with water and heated over a fire, then formed into a cylinder with the inside of the bark turned out. It is stuffed with grass to keep it in shape and prevent it from splitting. The bones are placed in it and its two edges sewn [531] together with pandanus fiber and a bone awl. The whole surface is covered with red ocher and painted with the totemic design of the deceased. The coffin is two feet long and four or five inches in diameter.

778 *Plank Ranga.*—Floating planks brought in on the tide, possibly from New Guinea, are of special totemic significance, and some of them are made into rangas by painting a design on them. The boards of a modern European box are now sometimes used in the same manner.

292 287 *Bark Belts.*—A strip of stringy bark about two inches in width, with a circumference great enough to reach about the body of a man, is soaked in water and held over a fire to make it pliable and to smooth its surface. It is then bent into its permanent shape and tied around the wearer. The ends are tied with fiber string and the belt is held in place by knotting the strings across the abdomen of the wearer. The belts are painted and used in ceremonies.

765 *Mourning Mast.*—The mast is supposed to represent the one used by the Malay in their sailing vessels when they visited southern Arafura waters.

The mast is made from a long eucalyptus sapling and is about fourteen and a half feet high and three inches in diameter. The tree is barked first and then cut to leave a protruding oblong band around the circumference [531] a third of the way from the top. The band is decorated with the totemic designs of the deceased. Fiber strings are tied to the top of the post and represent mast ropes.

796 *Barnumbir Stick.*—A stick about the length of a spear is cut with a diameter of three-quarters of an inch and is sharpened at one end. It is

wrapped all over with feathered fiber string. Two feathered strings about 796
eight and one-half feet long, tipped with white cockatoo feathers, are attached to the top of the pole. Cockatoo feathers are also put in bunches at regular three-inch intervals along the pole.

The sharpened point is put in the ground while the pole is being used during the morning star (Barnumbir) ceremony.

Paintings.—Bark and rock paintings are made by the Murngin. The 532
inner bark of the eucalyptus is cut and straightened just as it would be to make a house, and the smooth side is used for the drawing. A smooth coating of red ocher is first put over the whole of the surface and various designs then placed on it. They range from purely geometrical drawings to extremely naturalistic ones. These bark drawings are used in the Ulmark ceremony. The favorite animal to depict is the snake, either as Yurlunggur or Muit. Kangaroo tracks and emu tracks are also favorites, as well as fish and emus. All of the geometrical designs are given meaning by the natives. There seems to be only one which has a universal meaning—the diamond-shaped pattern that is always associated with the honeybee. A possible explanation of this is that when the men in the Djungguan lie down in a line on their backs to dance honeybee, one man puts his arms up in back of him. The man behind him places his legs across the first man's arms so that the projecting legs and arms of the two men form a diamond-shaped pattern. All the men in the line do the same thing. Of course it is possible that the idea of the design gave the dancers the form of the dance.

The rock paintings are found in the rock shelters where the Murngin sometimes stay. One of the favorite paintings is the human hand. This is made by first covering the palm of a man's hand with red ocher and then pressing it against the rock wall with the fingers spread. The painter then fills his mouth with a white or yellow wash and blows it around the hand to form a white outline around the red palm and fingers. Other drawings are of a totemic nature.

APPENDIX III

MORTUARY CEREMONY AMONG THE WESTERN CLANS OF THE DUA MOIETY

The mortuary cycle of songs used among the clans belonging to the Dua 764
side of the moiety division is the garma variety. The cycle is definite and 533
follows a fairly definite sequence, but the leader can make changes in the general order at his own discretion; he would not, however, violate the

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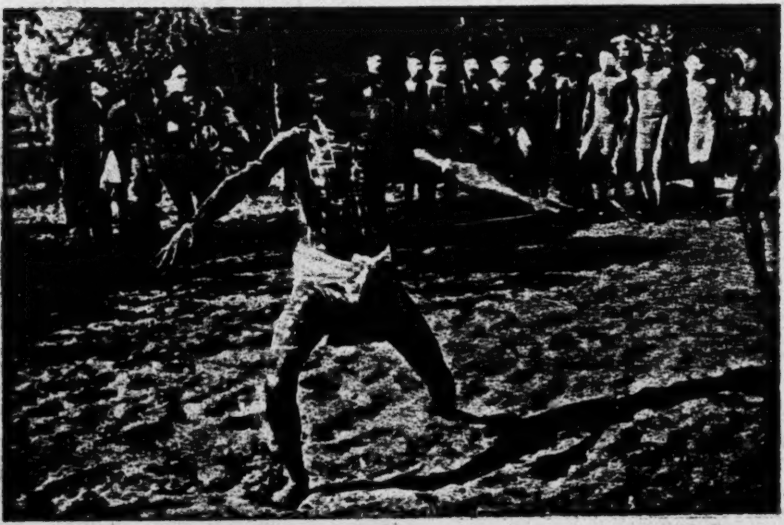

VIIIA. Dancing Flood Water in the Narra Ceremony.

VIIIB. Boys Receiving Instruction in the Narra Ceremony.

[FACING p. 559]

Y 773 our own women so we can do as we please. We won't have any fooling with our mothers-in-law. No man likes to copulate with an old woman."

They all went back and stayed in their own country.

BAMAPAMA GARMA CEREMONY FROM MARUNGA ISLAND

796 533 831 The significant idea in the following ceremony is that the man belongs to the Dua moiety and the woman is also a member of that division of the tribe. This garma is used for the same occasions as the others. The song sequence starts with (1) salt water, and the significance of singing the water of the ocean is that it is supposed to be carrying the coffin or hollow log into the native camp which has the deeper symbolism that the soul is being taken to the totem well. At the end of each song the name of the big well is called out and the chorus sings out "Yai!" The second song is the sea. Then follow: (3) small porpoise; (4) Marunga well country; (5) Marunga well country; (6) Marunga well country. All the above songs are sung while the men are transporting a large phallic emblem from the men's camp, where this garma totem is made, to the place within the general camp where the dance is held. The phallic emblem is painted with red ocher and colored generally as other totemic emblems are. The carving is done to show that the penis has been circumcised and also subincised.[3] The crowd of men dancers walk along with the phallic emblem. Frequently the hollow log coffin is also carried; sometimes this is designed for the final disposal of the bones of one of their members, or it may be merely a ritualistic observance.

796 535 831 The next dance is (7) porpoise; (8) man making a fish spear, is usually performed as a solo dance with the chorus joining in; (9) the spear is carried by Mar-ler-wer-ang-o, who is the Bamapama or trickster of the Marunga people and is looked upon as a man with a large penis which is symbolical of his lechery. The solo dancer who takes the part of Bamapama dances Bamapana with his spear watching the tide coming in. His spear is the phallic emblem. He is supposed to be extremely happy, and while he dances he calls out "Ha—ha—ha—ha," as he laughs to himself. He holds the phallic emblem up straight against his groin. He pretends to sneak up on a fish, spears and kills it, and breaks its head with his foot. The singer and dancer then take up the story of Bamapama when he sees two women come along the seashore just at sundown. They are supposed to be hunting little sea birds along the jungle edge on Marunga Island.

Marlerwerango or Bamapama sees them. He leaves the fishing and sneaks up on them. A man dances the part of the two women. The phallic emblem of Bamapama is thrust between the legs of the man as he stoops

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[384] [3] The Marunga people, in company with certain of the Goyder River people, practice subincision, although the subincision is not a ritual. The cutting is usually done by two young men who operate on each other.

over symbolically to gather in the sea birds. While Bamapama does this 796
he laughs uproariously. He then attempts to hide his phallic emblem but 535
the two women see it because it is too large for him to hide. He then 831
changes his tactics, raises it high in the air and shows it to them to frighten them. The group of people who are watching this dance are [522]
always extremely amused at this point and frequently some of them literally hold their sides with laughter. The two women leave, but he sneaks up on them and once more ritually has intercourse with them and again laughs and laughs. Even today one can see the holes in the ground which are the vaginas of the two women, and one can also see the stone phallus of Bamapama.

When Bamapama has finished his relations with the two women he 796
takes a canoe, and at this point the chorus sings (10), canoe. He paddles hard and rapidly. The men's chorus imitates this with the movement of 533
their spear-throwers. He arrives at a Marunga camp on Elcho Island. It is daylight there when he arrives and it has taken him all night to make this journey. He leaves the canoe and camps by the well which is out in the tidal flats. To indicate this (11), the name of the camp, is sung. The camp carries a number of meanings, according to native interpretation: "The Ding Ding people say, 'Mari, you try a song, we want to listen to you.' He sang his garma song. 'This one is mine,' he said. They said, 'No, that is wrong, that is for a ranga [high totem]. We'll show you the proper song.' They sang it then. He said, 'This one is a garma song. You look out for the ranga, I'll look out for the garmas. I'm going to get some food for you.' These people were his kutaras. When he said this, his kutaras sang the chorus of the Narra, and the Marunga man left them that song. 'All right, kutara, you can make rangas. We can start it but we want that Narra to go to you.' The two together sang Narra and called out the names of Marunga people because they were kutara and mari. Marlerwerango and the Ding Ding men sang, and the two Djunkgao women were there."

House of Marlerwerango or Bamapama (12) is then sung, followed by 796
(13) the picking of banyan tree fruit. The men dance the picking of the 535
fruit that is found in the trees at the Marunga land of Elcho Island. They dance and sing fish net (14), which refers to the catching of the soul of the dead, and (15) a pelican catching fish. This again refers to the soul being caught, the fish being the soul and the pelican the sacred element.

A small unidentified sea bird (16) ends the garma ceremony of the Marunga people. It must be stated that all the garma songs are capable of [533]
considerable variation; but each of them has a general pattern which is adhered to in any one of the dances which are given for the various garma occasions.

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THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

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DURING THE EIGHT weeks the expedition camped at Yirrkalla[1] my research was concentrated on bark paintings, carved animal and human figures, and their associated myths.

F. M. Setzler and F. D. McCarthy, while engaged on archaeological research at Milingimbi, collected several painted ceremonial objects from that locality. The Rev. Arthur F. Ellemor also arranged for the aborigines of Milingimbi to make a number of bark paintings for me. These objects and bark paintings from Milingimbi are valuable because they indicate little change in the art forms over north-eastern Arnhem Land. Setzler and McCarthy also assisted me in the interpretation of some of the Yirrkalla bark paintings.

When I returned to Yirrkalla for a short period during 1952 I was able to check the work of other investigators as well as my own. As the art forms of both Yirrkalla and Milingimbi are similar they will be treated as one unit from north-east Arnhem Land.

Barrett[2] figured cave paintings from the Wessel Islands, as well as fish and animals which the aboriginal children moulded in the sand. The Berndts[3] described a series of sacred carved figures from Yirrkalla and later[4] another series of secular carved figures from the same area; they[5] also published a myth of the moon and the words of the song belonging to it. Elkin and the Berndts[6] described a number of bark paintings, carved animal and human figures, and ceremonial objects. It is, however, from Warner's[7] descriptions and analyses of the culture of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land that we have learned so much about the mythology, philosophy, social organization and the clan and language groups of north-eastern Arnhem Land. Thomson[8] has described the movement of goods and the trade cycles of eastern Arnhem Land.

1. BARK PAINTINGS, DECORATED OBJECTS AND MYTHS

(1) HUMAN BEINGS

The Man, Djunkgao

Among the aborigines of Arnhem Land the myths of the *Wawalik* sisters 773*
and of the *Djunkgao* form the bases of all the important ceremonies, the myth 796
of the *Wawalik* for the *gunabibi, ulmark, djungguan* and *marndiella* rituals, and the myth of *Djunkgao* for the *dua* and *jiritja narra* rituals.[9]

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[1] Map, Fig. 1.
[2] Barrett and Croll (1943), p. 70.
[3] Berndt (1948), pp. 309-26.
[4] Berndt (1949), pp. 213-20, Pl. 1-3.
[5] Berndt (1948a), pp. 17-50.
[6] Elkin and the Berndts (1950).
[7] Warner (1937).
[8] Thomson (1949).
[9] Warner (1937), p. 241.

[pp. 16-266 not processed]

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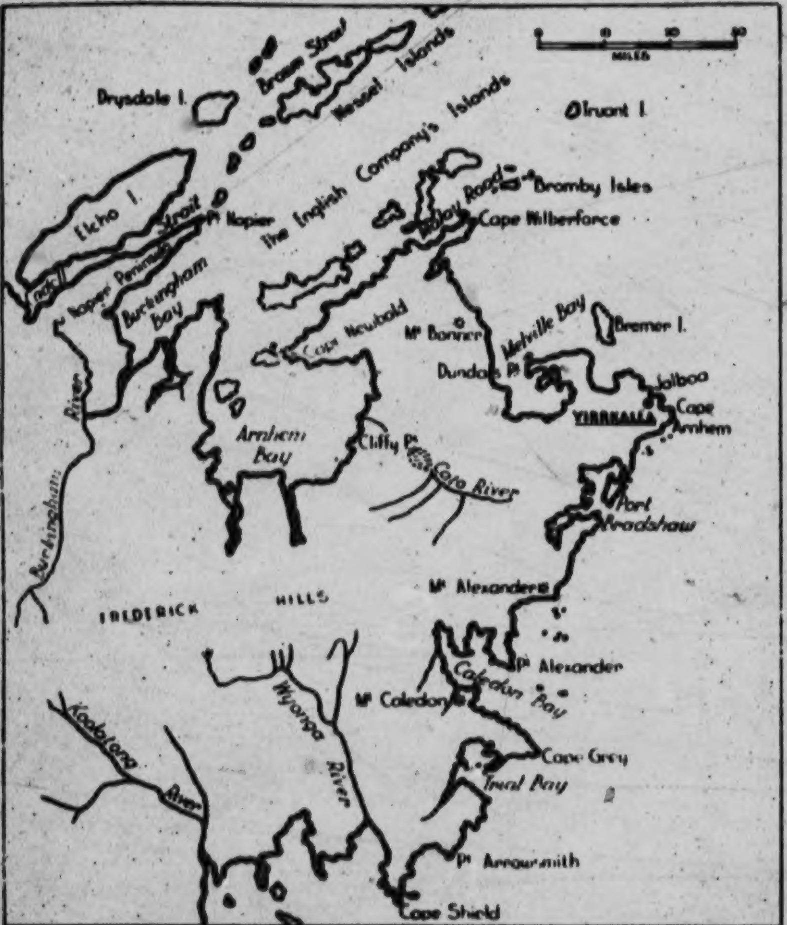
MILES
Drysdale I.
Brown Strait
Wessel Islands
Truant I.
The English Company's Islands
Elcho I.
Strait
Pt Napier
Napier Peninsula
Buckingham Bay
Bay Road
Bromby Isles
Cape Wilberforce
Cape Newbold
Mt Bonner
Melville Bay
Bremer I.
Dundas Pt
Jalboa
YIRRKALLA
Cape Arnhem
River
Arnhem Bay
Cliffy Pt
Goro River
Port Bradshaw
Buckingham River
FREDERICK
HILLS
Mt Alexander
Pt Alexander
Caledon Bay
Mt Caledon
Koolatong River
Wyonga River
Cape Grey
Trial Bay
Pt Arrowsmith
Cape Shield

FIG. 57. Yirrkalla area

*773 The *Wawalik* myth appears to belong more particularly to the western side
●796 of Arnhem Land, and the *Djunkgao* myth to the eastern. The former myth
appears to be the more complete; in fact, in some localities the myth of *Djunkgao*
184 actually takes on some of the elements of that of the *Wawalik* sisters (p. 278). On
the eastern side of Arnhem Land *Djunkgao* is a man; on the western side, two

women. In my collections of bark paintings there is, fortunately, a series dealing with the *Djunkgao* myth, which is associated with localities extending from Port Bradshaw, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, to Goulburn Island on the north coast. These paintings show a gradual shift from male to female dominance as the myth moves westward. 773* 776 184

At Jelangbara, near Port Bradshaw, where *Djunkgao*[10] and his sister first landed, it was *Djunkgao* with his digging sticks who created most of the waterholes and topography, his sister being relatively unimportant. At Arnhem Bay[11] some thirty miles westward, although *Djunkgao* created the waterholes, he was under the dominance of his sister, *Madalait*. About fifty miles west of Arnhem Bay, and south of Elcho Island, is a sacred waterhole, Milmigarak, which was created by the *Djunkgao*, who by then had become two sisters, instead of brother and sister. Some elements of the *Wawalik* myth are incorporated in this one.[12] In the *Djunkgao* myths of the Milingimbi area, recorded by Warner,[13] the *Djunkgao* are two important female ancestors who named the animals, plants and birds, and created many sacred waterholes. 778

As most of the bark paintings dealing with *Djunkgao* have separate myths, each painting will be described in association with the relevant myth.

Djunkgao and Madalait at Port Bradshaw

The myths associated with this collection of bark paintings, carved figures and ceremonial objects deal with both the arrival of *Djunkgao* and his sister *Madalait* at Port Bradshaw[14] and the origin of some of the totemic designs of the *rirediingu* language (*mata*) group associated with the *Djunkgao* at Port Bradshaw. 773*

In early *bumun* (creation) times *Djunkgao*, his wife *Walo*, the sun-woman[15], their daughter, *Bara-bararinja* and *Madalait*, his sister, lived at Tjurinjina, a place far across the water to the east of Yirrkalla.[16]

One day *Djunkgao*, having decided to go on a journey to Port Bradshaw, set out in his bark canoe, taking his sister with him, but leaving his wife, the sun

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[10] Myth, p. 273. [11] Myth, p. 275. [12] Myth, p. 275.

[13] Warner (1937), p. 336.

[14] The carved figures and ceremonial objects are described in Part 5.

[15] Berndt (1952), p. 3, states that the Djanggawul [*Djunkgao*] people were closely associated with the sun. One myth tells that the sun had two daughters who later became the *Djunkgao* sisters. In the myth of the sun, p. 302, which I collected in association with the relevant bark painting, Pl. 85E, the sun-woman, *Walo*, was the wife of *Djunkgao*. Their home was not at Purelko (Berndt's Bralku or Bralgu), but at Tjurinjina, some distance beyond.

[16] Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 26, state that Djanggawul [Warner's and my *Djunkgao*], his two sisters, Maralaitj [my *Madalait*] and Pildjiwuraroiju, and a companion, Bralbral, came from Bralku [Warner's and my Purelko]. Later Berndt (1952), p. 2, corrects this statement and records that the party 'came from a far distant country, and on their way to the Arnhem Land mainland stopped at Bralgu [Purelko], the *dua* moiety island of the dead.' 114

My aboriginal informants were definite that the *Djunkgao* party came, not from Purelko, the *dua* 'heaven', but from Tjurinjina which, although it lies in the same general direction as Purelko, is not the same place. This statement, and Berndt's later correction, are important because they dispose of the evidence that an important mythical ancestor originated in the home of the dead, evidence which might give rise to a theory that the aborigines of Yirrkalla believe in reincarnation. 775

This was a signal for a number of *Bukalatji* men, who were hiding among the 773*
trees, to attack the unsuspecting *Muruma* and spear him to death. His body is 532*
now a rock which projects out of the sea near the shore at Jalboa (map, Fig. 57). [823]

Two bark paintings illustrate the mythical story.

The central figure in Pl. 96A is *Muruma*. In one hand he holds four fish and in the other a twin-barbed fishing spear with which he has transfixed another fish. The crescents above his head and on the left-hand side of the painting represent curious loop-like clouds, *wulmu*.[96] The circles and cones along the right and left-hand edges are also clouds. In the upper part of the painting *Muruma* is asleep under a tree, with the fish (upper left) cooking on the fire, *a*, beside him.*

Plate 96D deals with the death of *Muruma* at the hands of the *Bukalatji*. In the centre is *Muruma* spearing fish and stingrays. In the lower left he is resting by his camp-fire, around which are the fish he is cooking. The *Bukalatji* are grouped along the upper edge. At the right, the unfortunate *Muruma* is being speared by one of the *Bukalatji*. Already there are many spears in his body.

Nakundia and Mununratan

Nakundia and *Mununratan* were two fishermen who once lived at Blue Mud Bay. One day, on returning to their camp after a day's fishing, they were set upon and speared to death by aborigines from a hostile group.

In the lower right panel, *a*, of Pl. 96C are *Nakundia* (lower) and *Mununratan* (upper), both with a large fish in each hand. Above them is their canoe with the sail set. The next two panels to the left are the oval ceremonial grounds,
similar to those used in the *arawaltja* ceremonies of Groote Eylandt (Fig. 6). Still [171]
further left is one of the fishermen standing on a rock, shown as an oval beneath his feet, with a fish in each hand. Above him are five fishing lines with hooks and sinkers attached. In the lower left, *b*, of the left-hand lower panel, one man (unidentified) is spearing another (possibly referring to the death of either *Mununratan* or *Nakundia*). There are six spears to the left of this group. The designs on the upper half at *c* are totemic rocks and a palm tree, upper right.

The men responsible for the death of *Nakundia* and *Mununratan* are shown
in the central transverse panel *d*, while in the upper left panel, *e*, are the two [411
dead fishermen transfixed with spears. At the right of the same panel are many
fighting spears of a type used only in avenging ceremonies. 796]

Minjapa and Wuluwil, the Turtle Fishermen

Two mythical fishermen, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, one day captured a large turtle. They brought it into Jalboa, about three miles north-west of Yirrkalla.[97]

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[96] These clouds, *wulmu*, also belong to the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*, Pl. 90D. It is [776
evident that *Muruma* and *Tjambuwal*, both belonging to the *dua* moiety, are associated in the
mythical stories. 616]

* Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XXVI.

[97] This is also the totemic place of *Tjambuwal*, the thunder-man, and *Muruma*, the fisherman.

532*
773*

After performing the dance of the tiger snake, *dunbania*, they each painted the death mark of the snake on their faces[3] and cast their spears at the sleeping man. These passed through both his chest and carrying-bag, killing him instantly. [776 302 628]

The two brothers, waiting until the wives of *Djunmundia* returned from food-gathering, captured them and, putting them aboard the canoe, paddled to an island north of Bremer Island. During the night, however, the women escaped, swam to the mainland, and told the *Bukalatji*,[4] relatives of the murdered *Djunmundia*, how their husband had been murdered. When the two brothers discovered their loss they returned to their camp on Bremer Island.

During the next few days the *Bukalatji* worked hard making a number of bark canoes. [501] Waiting until there was no moon, they launched them and paddled to Dambalia. Leaving their canoes to the north of the island, the *Bukalatji* crept through the low scrub to surround and kill *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga*. But the brothers heard them and, in their flight, came by chance on the bark canoes, which they started to cut to pieces with the large steel knives which the Malays had given them. [177] They had almost finished their work of destruction when the head man of the *Bukalatji* came up and begged them not to destroy his own canoe, so that he could take all of his people home. The brothers relented and allowed the *Bukalatji* to depart.

After some time the two brothers left Bremer Island and went to live near Cape Wilberforce, where they met and married two women from the nearby islands. The wives were out collecting oysters one day when the *Bukalatji* again attacked the brothers and this time succeeded in killing them. This so enraged the women that they attacked the *Bukalatji* with the knives belonging to their husbands and killed them all. *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga* were then transformed into goannas and their camps on Bremer Island into trees. [823] Between those trees there is a path, which must be kept clean by the local aborigines.

On Pl. 98A the two brothers, at *a*, are paddling their canoe to the mainland. On the left, at *b*, they are holding their spear-throwers and avenging spears in their hands. The elder brother, *Tjuna-tjuna*, is on the right. At *c* is their enemy, *Djunmundia*, transfixed by the two avenging spears, one of which has passed through both his chest and his carrying-bag (cross-hatched oval). In the lower right panel *d*, black circles enclosing the goannas are totemic trees mentioned in the myth; the parallel lines, the path between them; and the curves, nearby sand-hills.

The Man, Balonarati, and the Paper-bark Trees of Matamatani [178

Between Trial and Caledon Bays is a river, Gainmani. Near this river is the 133
Matamatani swamp,[5] about half a mile across and filled with paper-bark trees. 137]

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[3] The death mark, shown on the carved and painted head of *Banaramin*, Pl. 139D, E, is painted on the faces of all the men who take part in an avenging ceremony.

[4] These are the mythical people who killed *Maruma*, the fisherman. See Pl. 96D.

[5] This swamp is also mentioned in the myth of the three men and the bush-fire, Pl. 93B.

[text continues on p. 307]

CARVED AND PAINTED FIGURES

The Wawalik Sisters

In the fragment of the *wawalik* ceremonies[75] which we witnessed at Yirrkalla 778
the aborigines used two ceremonial poles. One, Pl. 138B, represents the elder 773*
sister whose blood, after she had given birth to a child, offended the serpent,
jurlungur, which lived in the well, Mirrirmina; the other, Pl. 138A, represents 532*
the younger sister.[76]

The Ceremonial Poles. Plate 138B is the complete design on the sacred pole belonging to the elder *Wawalik* sister. The strip of frayed bark on top is her hair and the curving designs, the blood caused by the birth of her child.

Plate 138A belongs to the younger *Wawalik* sister. The lower triangular designs picture the water in the sacred well of *jurlungur*, the serpent. The parallel vertical lines in the upper portion indicate the water flowing into the well.

2. CEREMONIAL OBJECTS FROM NORTH-EASTERN ARNHEM LAND

The Fresh-water Tortoise, Mimala

This bull-roarer, shaped like a paddle, belongs to Diawirinja, west of Arnhem 778
Bay, the totem place of the fresh-water tortoise, *Mimala*. The bull-roarer is so 562
sacred that even its sound must not be heard by the women. 534

During a burial ceremony at Diawirinja in creation time the fresh-water
tortoise, *Mimala*, then a man, made four bull-roarers, similar to the one illus- 779*
trated, and buried them in those parts of the ceremonial ground over which 778
everyone would dance. Though the women were assisting in the burial rituals,
they, of course, were unaware of the sacred objects under their feet. At the 764
conclusion of the rituals *Mimala* hunted the women away, dug the bull-roarers
out of the sand and threw them into a nearby waterhole, where they have since
been transformed into four large trees. Similar bull-roarers, after they have been
used in the present-day *mimala* ceremonies of Diawirinja, are thrown into a
sacred waterhole forbidden to the women. Being made of hard, durable wood,
it is only necessary, the following year, to take the bull-roarers from the water
and re-decorate them.[77]

Plate 144A, B is the obverse and reverse sides of the bull-roarer. The tortoise 532*
is shown in panel *a* on B, surrounded by dots indicating the bamboos growing in 778
his totemic swamp. In panel *c* is *Mimala* again, accompanied by an unidentified
diving bird with which he is linked in the myth.

Panel *b* on B, and *d*, *e* and *f* on A all picture hives of wild honey, the dots
being the bees and the cross-hatched diamonds the honey. The transverse bars,
x, *x*, *x*, on A and B symbolize the sacred waterhole into which the bull-roarers
are thrown at the completion of the *mimala* ceremonies. 196

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[75] For more complete myth, see p. 273.

[76] Bark painting, Pl. 98A.

[77] These and similar sacred objects last for several years under water. If buried in the ground, they would soon be destroyed by termites.

*532 The body of the
*773 murdered turtle man, *Madapang*, is now a large rock on the mainland opposite
776 Bremer Island.

[778 Plate 144G, H shows the obverse and reverse sides of the paddle.

623] The upper panel on the reverse side, G, is occupied by the *dua* green turtle, *gariwa*, and the lower by a similar but larger turtle, *madapang*. The latter is the turtle who, when a man, was killed by the *Mokoi* at Melville Bay. The short transverse panels of cross-hatching near the head and tail of the turtle, *madapang*, indicate seaweed, the food of the creature, and the long panels on either side, the sea.

In the upper panel of the obverse side, H, are five dolphins, called *injipana*, and in the lower, five dolphins of a different species, called *bulanbir*. The cross-hatched panels indicate smooth sea water at the totemic place.

The panels at the head of the upper turtle indicate where the reptile dug in the sand to lay its eggs; the long panels on either side represent sea-water. The rounded end of the paddle indicates that it belongs to a man of the *dua* moiety.[20]

(2) Painted Paddles and Spear-throwers from Groote Eylandt

171 On Pl. 145 are four paddles from Groote Eylandt, A, B, C, D and E.

No interpretations were gathered of the various designs painted on the paddles. In the upper panel of Pl. 145A is the figure of a man associated with what appears to be a wind symbol,[21] on Pl. 145D a dugong and a turtle, and on Pl. 145E another dugong. Collected by F. D. McCarthy.

On Pl. 146 are four spear-throwers from Groote Eylandt, A, B and C, D and E, and F. Although, as with the paddles, no interpretations were gathered, it is possible to distinguish a dolphin on D, and a turtle and possibly a bandicoot on E. Collected by F. M. Setzler.

(3) The Log Gongs

172
534 Two log gongs were collected in Arnhem Land, one (Pl. 147A, C) called *uvar*, by F. M. Setzler and F. D. McCarthy, whilst engaged on archaeological research at Milingimbi, and one (Pl. 147D) called *ubara*, by myself, at Oenpelli.

●796
534 Warner, when carrying out research among the aborigines of Milingimbi during 1927-8, saw the log gong in use and gives a full description of its function.[22] According to him, the gong, which is beaten with a frayed section of pandanus root, is used only in the *ulmark* cycle of ceremonies. When the women hear the sound of the gong, which they believe is the voice of the serpent [789] *muit*,[23] they assemble in the camp and continuously repeat the call, *kait-bo*. This call protects the women from harm, it being the same as that used by the

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[20] For shape of a *jiritja* paddle, Fig. 58A, B.

[21] Bark painting of south-east wind, Pl. 24D.

[22] Warner (1937), pp. 315-16.

[23] Another name for *jurlungur*, the mythical serpent, who swallowed the *Wawalik* sisters (see myth, p. 278, and Warner (1937), p. 372).

[text continues on p. 456]

796 *Wawalik* sisters in their attempt to drive the serpent, *jurlungur*, or *muit*, back
789 into the Mirrirmina waterhole (myth, p. 279).

THE MILINGIMBI LOG GONG

*532 This incomplete myth, associated with the Milingimbi gong, *uvar* (Pl. 147A,
×773 C), and the designs painted on it, deals with a man, *Julpaipai*, his wife, *Gutjabaui*, and their daughter.

534 During creation times, *Julpaipai* and his wife travelled from Nilipidji (the famous aboriginal flint quarry, the source of the best flint knives) to the country belonging to the Liagolommira (Warner's Liaalaomir) clan on the Goyder River, where they created a sacred waterhole, Miaramina (Warner's Mirrirmina). Whilst camped beside this waterhole *Gutjabaui* gave birth to a daughter. Later *Julpaipai* sent his wife to Miaramina to collect food, and whilst there she was raped by a mythical rock python that lived in the waterhole.[24] As *Julpaipai* was making a fire to cook the food collected by his wife, he saw a dog chase a goanna up a tree used only in the women's ceremonies. Later, the goanna was followed by many spiders and a rat.

The central figure of Pl. 147A, C, is the man, *Julpaipai*, carrying a feather plume in his left hand. The lines radiating from his head indicate his hair. To the left of his head is a boomerang.[25] To the left of *Julpaipai* is his daughter, wearing a feather plume on her head and carrying another in her hand. To the left of her again is a wooden spear, resting on a boomerang. The animal near by is the rat, *marawata*, which the dog chased up the sacred tree, *warguritja*, shown immediately above. On the extreme left of the design is a digging stick belonging to *Julpaipai's* daughter.

Reading from the right of the central figure, the small beetle-like designs are the spiders, *dipala*, which followed the rat and the goanna up the tree. Near the right hand of the mythical man is his spear-thrower and two wooden spears. The figure to the extreme right is the woman, *Gutjabaui*, holding a spear-thrower in one hand a digging stick in the other. The design to the left of her head is a yam she has dug out of the ground.[26] Associated with the log is a ceremonial object, Pl. 147B, perhaps a beater, its painted designs symbolizing green ants, *tapalang*, and their nest. Myth and interpretation by F. M. Setzler and F. D. McCarthy.

THE LOG GONG, UBARA, OENPELLI

178 The log gong, Pl. 147D, was used in the *ubara* ceremonies[27] witnessed during our stay at Oenpelli. According to my informants, the designs had no specific

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[24] This myth has many points of resemblance with that of the *Wawalik* sisters (Warner, 1937, p. 250). Both the clan and the sacred well have similar names, and the woman, *Gutjabaui*, gave birth to a child near the sacred well. Later the woman was raped, instead of being swallowed, by a mythical rock python which lived in the sacred well of Miaramina.

[439] [25] Although boomerangs are not made by the men of Arnhem Land, they reach Milingimbi from the south through the medium of a remarkable trade cycle. This trade cycle is described by Thomson (1949).

[26] Warner (1937), p. 313, mentions that the log gong is 'painted with snake figures, emus and other animals as well as plants'.

danced again, and the snake came closer. In fear the two sisters retired to their hut, 773
and the monstrous snake coiled around it and put his head through the opening.
He sprayed water over them, so that they became slippery and soft for swallowing;
then he proceeded to swallow the baby, the mother and finally the younger sister.

This is of course only the main theme; the original version and song cycle is very long and detailed, and instead of the blood from after-birth, it is menstruation blood that attracts the snake.

The *'Wauwəlak* myth and sacred songs are known to both men and women, but 773
the ritual and part of the ceremony is for men only, and is held away from the camp.[13]
However, certain associated ceremonies (e.g. the *'dʒuŋgəwən*) are performed in the 533
main camp, where conventionalized posts are placed to symbolize the *'Wauwəlak* 562
Sisters, around which women dance. In the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land,
as in other parts along the coast, women are acquainted with much of the sacred life,
but may not discuss it. It is said that they originally monopolized all sacred ritual
and dogma, and relinquished this right only when their ceremonial objects were
stolen by the men. There is also an "outside" or secular song-cycle dealing with
the ordinary adventures of these two sisters, which is sung in the camp and to which
women dance.

But the carved figures illustrated here are used as *'raŋga* objects, in the same 196 ●
way as the sacred *'maraiin* painted and feathered-string-decorated poles of *'Dʒaŋgəwəl*.
These are kept in a temporary storehouse out near the dancing ground, and shown to 778
fully initiated men.[14] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; 533
outside, the postulants are sitting or standing with faces turned away. The song-man
begins to clap his sticks and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object.
Finally, when the singing is completed, the designs on the figure are explained and
discussed. At times, during the showing of the object, the figure may be held ritually
by an actor who writhes on the ground like the python who swallowed the sisters.

What the *'Dʒaŋgəwəl* is to the *'du:a*, *'Laintʃuŋ*[15] is to the *'jiritʃa*: he is the most 776
important of all the *'jiritʃa* Ancestral Beings, and is highly sacred. He came out of 616
the sea, emerging from the waters like a giant stone from the receding tide, at
'Du:wən'miliŋwu, near Blue Mud Bay. His body bore variegated water-marks 773
(*'ra:ŋ*) that formed patterns. In the figure illustrated, the totemic designs (belonging 532
to a number of *'jiritʃa* clans) painted on its body are water-mark patterns.

Now *'Barəma*,[16] a *'jiritʃa* man, saw *'Laintʃuŋ* for the first time as he stood on the 773
beach, leaning on a sacred *'raŋga* yam stick, and was surprised to observe these
watermarks.

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[13] This with many details is an enactment of the above myth; i.e. in the *'dʒuŋgəwən* and *'kunapipi*.

[14] Those who have gone through the *'Dʒaŋgəwəl* rituals.

[15] The name *'Laintʃuŋ* means "white cloud from the sea," signified by the white face in the figure illustrated.

[16] Called also *'Bilmələndʒi*, derived from sacred beating sticks (called *'bilma*).

173 " I am *'Laintjuŋ*," said the Ancestral Being. " I bring all the *'jiritja* dreaming and painting: these will belong to you people, no matter what language and what tribe." Then he gave to *'Barɔma* the sacred paintings and the *'raŋga*, so that the totemic designs were distributed among the clans.

The two men then ritually called out (i.e. *'bilkaju:n*), so that all the people could come and learn what had happened. When they had all arrived, sacred dancing took place, paintings were drawn and their meanings were explained. *'Laintjuŋ's* voice went to all the *'jiritja* clans, and his law became established.

Eventually, he turned himself into a paper-bark tree, and his son *'Banaitja*[17] took his place. Now *'Banaitja* was a great religious leader, who was able to elaborate on the ritual and dogma laid down in the beginning by *'Laintjuŋ*, his father. He began to teach men, but his disciples became frightened and talked among themselves. " Is this man really connected with *'Laintjuŋ*, as a son, as he says? What have we got to do? " And they climbed trees with their spears, and waiting for an opportunity speared him so that he died. This was in the *'Bunɔraithi* country at Blue Mud Bay.

But when they had killed him, the murderers realized that *'Banaitja* was really a great man, and had had a great deal more to tell them; and they were " sorry." So in memory of him they carved his representation, and also made a paper-bark *'banaitja* pad which is beaten on the ground during sacred rituals; and the sound of this is *'Banaitja's* voice.[18]

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118 The carved figures of both *'Laintjuŋ* and *'Banaitja* are shown to postulants in the same way as are the *'Wauwɔlak* figures; but this *'jiritja* ritual is at no time associated with secular ceremonies, or with song-cycles sung in the main camp.

The 'Wauwɔlak Figures.

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532 *Plate I, Figure 1.* The younger *'Wauwɔlak* sister, who danced to keep away the large python that eventually swallowed the two sisters and the child.

The treatment of this figure's face is peculiar to *'du:a* craftsmen of the old school, and is used only in relation to the *'Wauwɔlak* and *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl*. The carving of the majority of these sacred figures, both *'du:a* and *'jiritja* (excluding Figure 6), is distinctive, and differs from the treatment of figures belonging to the other groups. The sacred designs are applied directly to a background of red ochre. The breasts are those of a young girl, while the ridge between them is a cicatrization. Arms are carved solidly to the trunk of the figure, while vulva and buttocks are raised from the background and are not patterned. The whole is painted in red, white, black and yellow. The figure wears around its head a *'bulkɔwalku* ornament, and on its body a

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[17] I.e. a part of the paper-bark tree; also associated with a giant barramundi fish.

[18] The complete ritual, songs and sacred objects associated with *'Laintjuŋ* and *'Banaitja* will be discussed at a later date. Representations of *'Laintjuŋ-'Banaitja* objects and paper-bark beaters are held at the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, for the Australian National Research Council.

776 *'Kultana* belongs to the *'Gumaitʃ'mata* (language) group near Port Bradshaw, but
this spirit and his wife seem to have other spheres of influence outside their home
775 territory. For example, *'Kultana* also lives on an island called *'Mɔ:dilya*, north of
the Wessells, and lights large fires of grass and "rubbish" to attract spirits of the dead on their way to *'Ba:du*. The male *'Kultana*, when he is not supervising the journeying spirits, hunts for stingray in the shallow waters of the mangrove swamps, and scratches his mosquito bites; while his wife gathers wood, collects jungle-fowl eggs, and generally spends her time in the jungles fringing the beach. There are no actual ceremonies associated with these *'Kultana*, although there is some secular
[533] mortuary dancing; but there are both sacred and camp songs related to their
adventures and general behaviour.

'Murəru:ma is the "Turtle" Man from Bremer Island (at one time called Melville
776 Island), and is associated with *'du:a 'Ri:rədʒiŋu 'mata* secular and sacred life; he,
773 his wives and his sons, *'Daŋədʒi:əna* and *'Wuralwural*, are immortalized particularly
533 in an elaborate song cycle sung in the camp, while *'Murəru:ma* himself plays only a
subsidiary part in the sacred songs. However, to the *'Ri:rədʒiŋu* speaking group he is an important being, connected with the principal physical features of their country, which is localized around Yirrkalla. The myth itself deals with his turtle hunting,
773 the murder of his *'jiritʃa 'Wɔŋguri* wife (he had other wives, belonging to the
'[illegible], *'Warəməri* and *'Gumaitʃ* speaking clans), and consequent feuds arising from this killing. His wife was killed because she wished to have nothing to do with her husband, refused his sexual attentions, and wanted to return to her own country. He killed her by inserting his knife in her vagina, and slitting her upwards to the throat. A revenge expedition on the part of the dead wife's family succeeded in killing *'Murəru:ma* at Melville Bay, on the mainland.

'Murəru:ma's two sons, who were living at Bremer Island, came with their friends to the point of land opposite Bremer, near Yirrkalla; there they saw the spirit of *'Murəru:ma*, but believing him to be a human being they were glad, as they had not heard of his death. Coming close to him, they saw him disappear; and looking out to sea they saw a big rock which they knew must be his spirit. They spoke among themselves, saying that they would avenge his death. The rest of the myth concerns several killings and other details too numerous to present here.

[532] These carved figures, whether they be the realistic or conventionalized (i.e.
778 as the "post" figure, Plate I, Figure 4) representations, are used as *'raŋga* objects, in
much the same way as are the sacred (*'maraiin*) painted and feathered-string-decorated
796 poles of *'Dʒaŋgawɔl*, *'Laintʃuŋ*, *'Banaitʃa*, *'Wauwɔlak* etc. They are kept in a storehouse near the ritual dancing ground and shown to initiated men.[24] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; outside, the postulants sit or stand with averted heads. The song man begins to beat his sticks, and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object. Finally, when the singing is completed, the

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[24] Those who have gone through a series of *'maraiin* ceremonies, but may not yet have been admitted to the viewing of certain sacred *'raŋga*.

designs on the figure are explained and discussed. There is no dancing with these, 778
as there is with the figures of the *'Wauwəlak-'Laintʃuŋ-'Banaitʃa* group. 796

The Figures.

Plate II, Figure 1. Female *'Kultana*. The body, face and part of the legs are 532
painted in vertical bands of red, black, yellow and white, which represent the rain 778
streaming down her body. She is sitting at *'Dʒu:ltunma:dʒi*, in the bush above Port Bradshaw in *'Gumaitʃ* country, engaged in sending the cold *'jiritʃa* winds. A fringe of "wild coffee" tree bark, stripped and made into fibre, is tied around her head, representing hair. There are no arms to the figure, while breasts and pubes are raised.

Artist: *'Muŋgərawi, 'Gumaitʃ 'mala, 'jiritʃa.*

Full length, 36·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 9·5 inches; diameter of head, 7·75 inches; width across shoulders, 6 inches.

Plate II, Figure 2. A male *'Kultana*. The decoration on the body and part of the legs is similar to that in Figure 1, but the face is painted with a head-band in black, white and yellow, and certain facial markings usually worn by this spirit. The vertical bands on his body also represent rain streaming down his body, as he walks through the shallow water spearing stingray. This is the best time to catch these fish, which come into the shallows along the coast when they hear the rain falling on the surface of the water. This *'Kultana* is at *'Jalkjalkdun* on the beach near Port Bradshaw in *'Gumaitʃ* country.

Artist: *'Muŋgərawi* (as above).

Full length, 33·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 10·25 inches; diameter of head, 4 inches; width across shoulders, 5 inches.

Plate II, Figure 3. *'Murəru:ma*, the Bremer Island "Turtle" Man.—The predominant colouring of the face is white and red, while the front of the body design is incised and painted in black, yellow, white and red: head-band and facial markings are drawn on the figure.

On the left-hand section of the design is *'Murəru:ma's* canoe (yellow, white and black), between black and yellow bands representing reefs. On the top right-hand side are rocks, near the mainland point opposite Bremer Island, while below are two "Moon" fish (*'manala*), one with yellow and white stripes and the other with black and white stripes; the black band on the side is another reef.

Below this design is a male green-backed turtle (white, red and black), with waves at each side (white, black and red bands). The top of the head is painted white to represent seagull excreta.

On the back of the figure's head are clouds (horizontal lines in yellow, red, black and white), while in the middle of two rows of vertically placed horizontal bars is a sacred "dilly-bag," called *'waraitʃwaraitʃ*. On the back, the middle section is incised and painted with two green-backed turtles—the top one a male, facing a female (both in yellow, black and white), and dragging seaweed (radiating horizontal

Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain 582
sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage 611
of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 616
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All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, 616
possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, 617
which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. (See page 16.)

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation 614
is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of 621
great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. 778
Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance.

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the 532
vast majority of cases consist of— 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most 614
of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously 778
guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men.

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with 796 ●
these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient 867
tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many
excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they
are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach [784]
of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity.

778 The aid of these "Muraian," in which are believed to reside the spirits of their tribal ancestors, may be invoked, and I have heard an old man, addressing a group of initiates, declare that he had lived to an old age because he had been true to his "Muraian," which, he said, had protected him from his enemies and generally cared for him. One man told me that when away out at sea in his canoe, and being suddenly overtaken by a violent storm, he had called upon his "Muraian," and by their aid had been brought safely to land.

614 During the preparations for, or the holding of, these
621 ceremonies,^ it is expected that all matters likely to disturb the
688 peace will be carefully avoided. If someone commits an offence
●796 during that period it is regarded as an insult to the particular
[778] "Muraian" concerned, and the men of the horde become most
violently angry. In such a case the offender must make liberal
payments to the chief men of the horde, who, in extreme cases,
however, are not satisfied until the offender has been seriously
injured, or even killed.

561 Though at an early age youths are given some information
778 concerning their own "Muraian," no man undertakes the manu-
facture of these sacred objects before middle life, and then only
[887] under the direction of the old men. From time to time, as
opportunity presents itself, a man is shown the "Muraian" of
hordes other than his own. Such knowledge is in no way
compulsory or essential to his taking his full place in the tribal
life, but rather marks an additional stage in his education, and
so increases his influence.

614 It is through these "Muraian" that the only cohesion between
616 the various scattered hordes is obtained. Hordes or clans of the
619 same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island and
778 Blue Mud Bay, hold in reverence the same mythological ancestors,
possess the same "Muraian," and so regard themselves as the
same people.

000 It will be seen, from the above, how wide is the influence of these totemic beliefs, and how important a place they occupy in the life of the people. Further brief reference will be made to them under the heading of Death and Burial Beliefs and Customs.

^ [i.e. "NARA" CEREMONIES — ANALYST]

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The three most important and most elaborate ceremonies, the Junggawon, the Ngulmarrk, and the Gunabibbi, as well as several others of lesser importance, are all associated with this Kaitchalan cult. In these ceremonies various phases of his activities are dramatically portrayed. He controls the forces of nature, and very definitely influences the lives of the people to-day. His power is exercised in a benign and helpful way, but he can be greatly angered by breaches of the tribal laws. In this cult there is little that is objectionable, and much that is admirable. The ceremonies associated with this cult are marked by great reverence and spiritual passion, and one feels that there is in them a real searching after spiritual truth.

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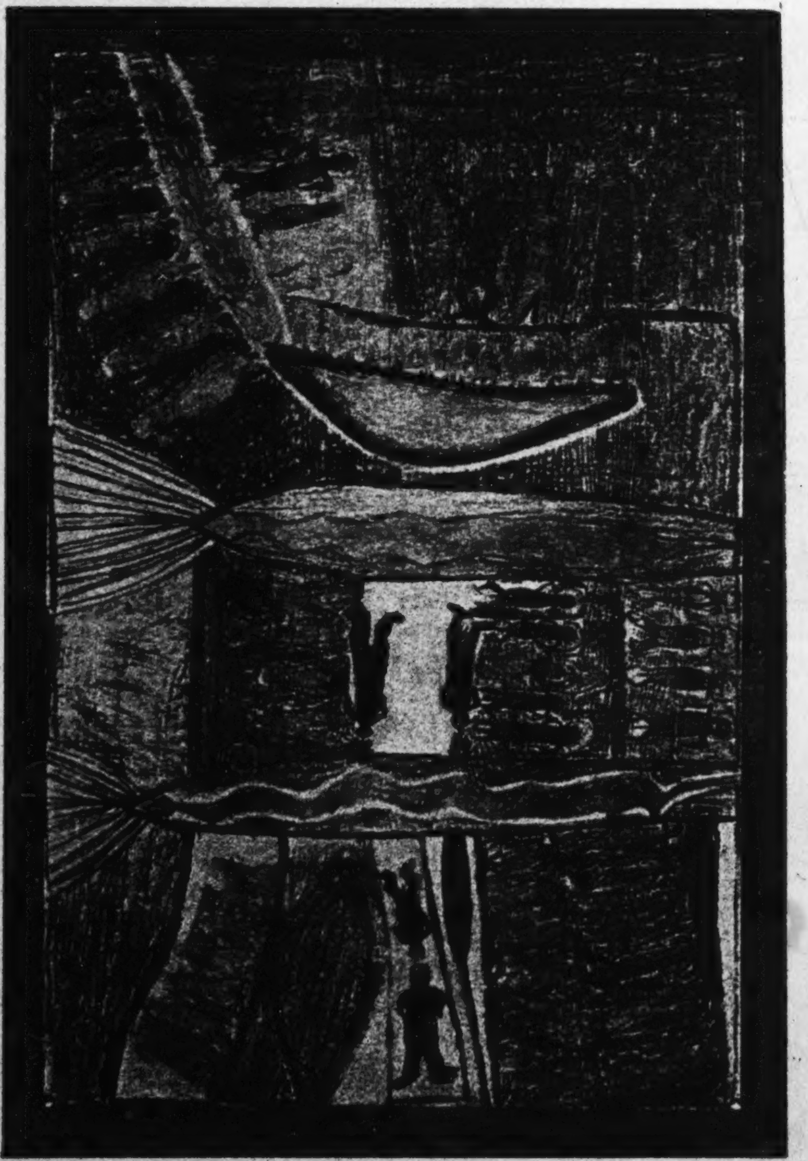

PLATE I

[Facing p. iii]

[For caption see category 116, p. X]

INTRODUCTION

PROFESSOR A. P. ELKIN

Baldwin Spencer in his *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory,* 773
1914 (Chapter IX, and pp. 217–8) recorded myths which ascribed
important creative and formative activities to culture-heroines, in 114
particular to Imberombera and Ungulla Robunbun in western
Arnhem Land, and ceremonial activity together with original possession
of the bullroarer, to Kunapipi women in the Roper River
region. All alike left spirit-children at places along the routes of their
journeyings, and the first two were responsible for the tribal and
linguistic divisions in their region, having "sent forth" spirit-children
to found the tribes.*

In 1937, Professor W. L. Warner's important book, *A Black* 114
Civilization, was published, giving the results of his field work in
1926–29 at Millingimbi (Crocodile Islands) and the neighbouring 773
region of north-east Arnhem Land. Half of it is a study of mythology 796
and ritual. Two of the most important figures are the Wawilak
sisters, who named the animals and plants as they travelled from
inland to the north along the Goyder River, and who, in an
endeavour to ward off the great ancestral python, Yurlunggur, and to
end the wet season, sang and danced the songs of four great rituals,
one of which was the Gunabibi (Kunapipi). The Yurlunggur swallowed
the two women and their babies, causing their deaths, but
their spirits lived on and revealed the rituals to two Dreamtime men,
so that the important past should not be forgotten. This included the [304]
introduction of circumcision which the Wawalik had intended to
perform on their sons (Warner, pp. 250–9). In the Gunabibi ritual,
the Gunabibi is the bullroarer, and also symbolizes Yurlunggur who
swallowed and regurgitated the two women and their sons (pp.
293–4). Another important ritual myth is about two Djunkgao sisters
who came into the region from the south-east, naming natural species

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* Compare too the similar myth of the "big woman", Warahmoorungee, of [171]
the Iwaidja tribe, in this region, as given by Inspector Foelsche, "Notes on the
Aborigines of North Australia", *Journal, Royal Society of South Australia*,
Vol. V, p. 17. This is the "Mother", "Waramurunggoindju", who, Mr. Berndt
was informed by the Maung at Goulburn Island, came from the Macassan
Islands, and eventually by way of Timor and Bathurst Island to Cape Don,
the Iwaidja and other tribal territories, and finally to east Arnhem Land. R. and
C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section 3,
to be published by the Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology.

114 as they came, making ritual-totemic wells or centres, and giving
birth to the ancestors of the present people. They made and carried
773 sacred totemic emblems, and instituted the Narra ritual in which
796 these are used; but some Dreamtime men stole the baskets in which
they kept these objects and performed the Narra—a theft which the Djunkgao took in good grace (pp. 336–40).

[114] As we read these myths and the description of the associated
rituals, we detect a difference, at least in emphasis, in the rôles played
773 by women in the creative epoch in this region as compared with other
562 regions for which we have reliable information. According to the classic works of Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899) and *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), and the later work of Carl Strehlow, *Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stamme in Zentral-Australien*, I, II and III, 1907, 1908, 1910, human beings arose from semi-human-animal forbears, or were given their forms in an operation performed by "self-existent" totemic beings on existing incomplete beings; and in some cases, too, in the more northern tribes, human beings just arose. There is no instance of one or two great culture-heroines being held responsible for natural features, tribes and languages, though women were included in many of the earliest groups of human wanderers; more explicitly the Unmatjera have a tradition of several groups of *ertwaininga* women who wandered across the country, carrying yamsticks, and leaving individuals behind at various spots, which became spirit totemic centres, from which these individuals went forth to be reincarnated.

In the sphere of ritual, however, the myths reflect a stage or period in which women took an active part and had full knowledge of sacred symbols. Thus, in one myth, three women from time to time painted themselves with sacred designs, carried the nurtunja (a sacred symbol), performed ceremonies and changed their totemic and subsection affiliations. In another, the Unthippa women in the course of their wanderings, used to carry off and circumcize any novices they found, an event to which reference is still made in circumcision ritual (*Native Tribes*, pp. 195–6, 433, 441–3; *Northern Tribes*, pp. 146, 150, 152–9).

171 If we compare the mythology of the centre and north-centre with
773 that of Arnhem Land as we knew it in 1937, we see that in both the
spirits of men and women pre-exist because of happenings in the
562 Dreamtime, and women in that period played an inner rôle in what
[774] is now ritual reserved for initiated men. In the former vast regions,
however, women did not form the country, name natural species, determine the tribal and linguistic divisions, nor institute ceremonies But this is just what the culture heroines of Arnhem Land were said to have done. This difference in power, or in degree of function, was sufficient to suggest further research in this region into the rôle of the

culture-heroine in mythology; and all the more so, as no such distinctively 171
creative powers were ascribed to females in the myths of 773
any other region then studied, such as the Kimberley Division of
Western Australia, the Great Victoria Desert, North Queensland, 562
nor South-East Australia. In the north-west and north-east of the continent, the important creative culture-heroes are males and many of them were at times in animal form. In the South-East not only was the male aspect dominant, but there was only one great hero, for each tribe or region, named here Bundjil, there Nurunderi, or Baiami or Gulambra or Goin and so on.*

In 1939 my friend, Mr. W. E. Harney, who had spent many years [114]
in and around Arnhem Land, and has a greater and sounder knowledge
of Aboriginal custom, belief and ritual than any other layman
sent me some notes in which much prominence was given to the
"Old Woman," Kunapipi, both in doctrines and in ritual. After [794]
discussing the material with him, I was satisfied that in the Roper, 776
Macarthur and Victoria River areas, a very vivid cult of the "mother-goddess" 773
type was functioning. Her name varied, being Kunapipi, Mumuna, Kliarin-Kliari, and so on, but she was usually referred to as the "Old Woman" or the "Mother". She was the source of life in man and nature, both in the Dreamtime or creative past and now.
In this activity she was associated with a great serpent, usually the
Rainbow serpent, who "made the road" into the womb for the pre-existent [775]
spirits to be incarnated and reincarnated. She was also the very earth itself, that from which living things came and on which
they depended for sustenance. This doctrine was expressed in the 796
Kunapipi ritual. In it her womb was represented, by a trench into which the initiands were put, and from which they were reborn. In addition, the bullroarer, also representing her womb, when swung at the ritual became the sojourning symbol of each initiand's ritual or "wood" spirit. After the ceremony, when the Yermalindji, the symbol of the great snake, was burnt in the earth-womb, the bullroarer was buried there also. Thus, the lad's ritual "shade" remained
in Kunapipi, and did so until the disintegration of the symbol, when [775]

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* I can speak from personal field work for all these regions except the north-east. See also articles in *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 46-62, R. Piddington, "Karadjeri Initiation". Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 66-93, Ursula H. McConnel, "Myths of the Wikmunkan and Wiknatara Tribes"; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 452-477, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 69-105, "Totemic Hero Cults in the Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland"; Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 382-404, A. Capell, "Mythology in Northern Kimberley". Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 255-260, and Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 31-53; "A Preliminary Report of Field Work in the Ooldea Region, Western South Australia", by R. and C. Berndt, *Oceania Bound Reprint*, Sydney, 1945.

Also D. F. Thomson, "The Hero Cult, Initiation and Totemism on Cape York", *Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXIII, pp. 453-538; and "Notes on a Hero Cult from the Gulf of Carpentaria, North Queensland", *op. cit.* Vol. LXIV, pp. 217-236. A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 475-508.

796 it went to his Dreaming or spirit home to wait for the return of the
[775] animating spirit after the death and final burial of the individual.

Further, because of the original life-giving power of the "Mother",
[789] the ritual which included many dances referring to natural species,
was believed to ensure the normal cycle of the seasons. This, however,
did not occur directly as though the effect of increase rites, for the
ritual was not regarded as such; but just as, and while, men per-
[774] formed their ritual in the "Mother Place" to ensure their own births
and rebirths, so the "shades" of natural species performed their own
increase rites in the spirit-world.

The details on which this brief analysis was based suggested that
[177] the Kunapipi ritual as described by Professor Warner as part of the
Wawilak cycle and as having come from the south through the Rain-
barngo (Rembaranga) tribe (p. 452), was a most important cultural
element in Arnhem Land, the "pure" form of which must be sought
along the line of the "southern" rivers such as the Roper, Katherine
and Victoria.

In 1946, I worked for a short period amongst the tribes on the
177 Roper and Katherine and also visited north-east Arnhem Land, and
773 in 1947 and 1948 worked amongst the Mangarai and Alawa on the
796 Roper, and the Djauan and southern Rembaranga in southern
[114] Arnhem Land. While at Yirrkalla near Cape Arnhem in the north-
east corner of the region I saw the ceremonial ground with the
Nanggoru and Kanala where a Kunapipi ritual had been held some
weeks earlier, and obtained information which showed that it had
there coalesced with the Wauwalak (or Wawilak) myth, the very
"hut", in which the two sisters and the baby were swallowed by
Muit (Yurlunggur or Julunggul) the snake, being an important feature
in the ritual. Moreover, the tradition, as given to me, was that Moit,
that is the Wauwalak ritual, spreading south was met somewhere
about the Rose River –Nungubuyu tribal country –by the Kunapipi
ritual. For the people there, being afraid of his swallowing habits,
killed him, and made their own *mumuna*, Mother Dreaming. The
result is the present Kunapipi, with the Yermalindji—the Mother's
yam stick, and at the same time the Rainbow Snake's symbol—and
the Anggoru, the Mother's earth womb.

It was quite clear then that by 1946 the Kunapipi ritual had
[114] reached Arnhem Bay, and had done so since early 1929, for Professor
Warner wrote (p. 452) that it was not found in any of the clans
around Arnhem and Buckingham Bays, or on the islands of the
north-east though large numbers of the men from these districts
went south to take part in ritual with the clans of the same general
linguistic group who did possess it. Further, I was told in 1946 at
Elcho Island that a local man, Kumu, had brought the Kunapipi in
about 1929 to Elcho and other islands from Caledon Bay where he
saw it.

It seems then that the Gunabibi (Kunapipi) as Professor Warner 177
saw it after coming through the Rainbarngo and being amalgamated
with the Wauwalak, did not necessarily diffuse east to Melville and 773
Arnhem Bays, though the Wauwalak myth may have done so. It is 796
more likely that it spread there up the coast from the Rose River country; ultimately the "distributing" tribe was the same, the Rembaranga (Rainbarngo) and the fusion with the Wauwalak on the upper Goyder may have occurred before the Kunapipi reached Blue Mud Bay.

In 1946, while at Roper River Mission, I was given a detailed myth of the movement of the Mumuna (or Kunapipi group) and the ritual (with no trace of the Wauwalak myth) from Blue Mud Bay south along the coast to the Roper River, which was crossed about thirty
miles from its mouth, and shortly after, a Wadiri-Anyula man gave [115]
me an account of the journey of *Gilyeri-gilyeri mara-ahana*, the
Travelling Woman, from the Roper, near the junction of the Limmen, and of the spread of the ritual, through the Alawa and on and on to Lake Woods and Newcastle Waters. Here the ritualists linked up with the route of diffusion from the Lower Victoria River through the Mudbara tribe and by Battle Creek.

This, incidentally, completed the circle of the Kunapipi route, for a study of the rituals and myths and traditions show that it also spread from the Victoria River east through the Wadman, Yangman and Mangarai territory and thence north to the Rembaranga, and on to Blue Mud Bay, and thence, as we have seen, south to the lower Roper, and so on to Newcastle Waters.

At the present time, too, some of the Kudjika songs of the Kuna-
pipi of the Roper River side, which I heard at the Elsey, are on their [533]
way south-west through Warlock Ponds and then eventually to Wave Hill, west of Newcastle Waters, and on even to Wyndham, that is, to East Kimberley.

The doctrines are still very real to the initiated Mangarai, whom 773
I have come to know during the past three years. We talk about the
myth or ritual; we mention the sacred key and pass words referring 796
to the "Mother", the bullroarer, the Yalmanindji, the "river" and
"billabong" (womb) on the ritual ground, or we repeat the words of 171
the chants: but let anyone pass by even thirty yards away and out of [123]
earshot—the subject is dropped immediately, until that person has really gone by. And how interesting it is to hear on the Roper almost the same ritual words as obtain at Yirrkalla, and then to hear them again from Djauan and southern Rembaranga and others on the Mainoru, south of Bulman Gorge, and 100 miles west again not far from the Waterhouse! When I arrived at the latter place in September, 1948, a Kunapipi ritual had been completed only a few days before. I saw the headman and others who participated. There, too, was the Kanalina and the Anggorna (Nanggoru) with the

773 Yeramalindji (Yalmanindji), a blackened mass, still in its original
shape, lying in the Nanggoru.

796 One special feature of this "Mother Place" was that on each of the
171 walls of both the Kanalina (the oval billabong) and the Nanggoru
(the semi-circular trench or "river"), the rainbow serpent, here
[532] called Muit, was engraved. Apart from what informants said, there
[346] was no mistaking the drawing. The walls were of hard clay and about
2 feet and a little more in depth.

Finally, the "Mother" ritual has spread north from the Lower Victoria River as far as Port Keats, where in 1944 the elders were assimilating the doctrine of the "Old Woman" (exoterically), but the desirable mother (esoterically), and the bullroarer with snake symbolism.*

The Appeal of the Kunapipi

A cult which spreads throughout a vast region as indicated in the
771 above outline, and spreads irresistibly, must satisfy a spiritual or
psychological need and make a captivating appeal. There is no mis-
796 taking the grip which the doctrine of the "Mother" and the Snake
has on the initiated, or their fervour and faith. But, why does the
cult appeal and grip in this way?

Let us outline its significant features. It highlights the maternal,
nourishing, reproductive, and indeed creative, principle in nature and
man, though not denying the male principle. That is, it associates the
cycle of the tropical seasons, and the increase of human beings and of
natural species with the concept of Mother—of birth from the womb.
[831] Further, it correlates this with sexual activity in which the male or
inseminating principle is involved. In the former aspect, we have the
Mother, symbolized by the ceremonial "Mother Place", and in particular by the earth womb, the *nanggoru*, for, indeed, she is the earth.
In the latter case we see the symbolism of the Great Snake: the
Rainbow Snake, and the Yermalindji.

Further, in the ritual, the male actors simulate sex intercourse,
796 which symbolizes both the impregnation or else the quickening of
786 the Mother herself, and also the intercourse of the animals represented in the rite. It is done for her and through her for them and all nature. Finally, the actual sexual intercourse between the actors and selected women near the ceremonial ground, as part of the total ritual, not only witnesses to the indispensable rôle of women in reproduction, but also makes the "Mother's" life-producing principle or power operative. Just as in arid Australia, the actors cause blood from their arm vein or genital organ to flow on to the symbolic representation of the totem or totemic ancestor, giving it or
[789] him power to increase its kind; so too in Arnhem Land the actors'

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* Mr. F. Parkes, a member of the Air Force, gained the confidence of these men, and recorded all he could.

786
sexual intercourse with the obvious representatives of the "Mother" 796
enable her to fulfil her important function. [789]

Thus, here as in the Ancient East, ritual sex-intercourse is a sacra-
mental act in the cult of the "Great Mother", on which her potency 773
and the survival of man and nature depend. In both regions we are 786
in the presence of a "Mystery Religion". The precious guarded
secret is only revealed to the initiated, the twice born, and that 796
secret, that "mystery", is the continuity of life. Life, however, is no 789
mere visible or external phenomenon. In all its forms it has a
spiritual counterpart, its "shade". The Cult Mother is more than the
Big Woman of the mythological period; she is eternal in the earth,
and present and active in her "shade" form in every Kunapipi. The
Great Snake, too, Muit or Yermalindji, is present in his symbols at
the ceremony, teaching the "reborn" through the traditional words
and ritual behaviour of the elders, speaking through them even as
the prophet and teacher is the voice of his God. The ritual or "wood"
shade, the spirit double of the initiand enters the bullroarer symbol
of the Mother and with it remains in her "earth womb" until it goes
to the spirit home. While the actors perform their rites to ensure the
birth and rebirth of mankind and the "increase" of the Great
Mother and the Great Snake as manifested in the rains and the con-
sequent fertility of the earth, the spirit-womb of the Mother is made
potent; in addition, as they represent in mime the behaviour of [825]
animals, reptiles, birds and insects, the "shades" of these creatures [774]
perform the increase ceremonies of their own kind in their own ritual
places in the spirit-sphere. Finally, the women who have co-operated
in the Kunapipi with their "outside" calls, responses, songs and
dance (like the Bundani or Awalumbi), and who then take part in
the ritual intercourse with men from the Mother Place, become [775]
bearers of the latters' ritual or Kunapipi "shades"; at least, such is
the doctrine in the Roper River region.

So life is assured to man and nature for it is eternal in the spirit
world, in the Great Mother who brings forth and whose impregnat-
ing symbol is the Great Snake, the iridescent rainbow which never [821]
fails to join the sky to the earth.

Such is the appeal of the cult. Its function in the social and
economic life of a food-gathering people in a tropical environment 114
can be studied, and indeed is obvious and logical. A most valuable 794
attempt to analyse the North-East Arnhem Land cults from this
point of view has already been made by Professor W. L. Warner in 796
A Black Civilization. But why should such a Fertility Goddess cult 177
arise in Arnhem Land and the Victoria River region, and not also in
the northern part of the Kimberley Division or in Cape York
Peninsula, where the tropical seasons and conditions of living for a
parasitic food-gathering people are similar? The answer probably
lies in the differences in external contacts. Here it is sufficient to say

114 that the several centuries of contact with Macassan and pre-Macassan
traders, fishers and sojourners which marked the Arnhem Land
177 coasts from the Victoria River right round to Groote Eylandt, were
794 not experienced in the other two tropical regions. It is, therefore,
possible that pre-Islamic religious influence was exerted on the
796 Aborigines, perhaps through individuals who accompanied the
Macassans and others to the islands to the north, for in some of
these, the earlier Hindu cults were cherished in spite of the proselytizing
nature of Islam. Moreover, the Mother cult-heroine is said in
[773] myths to have come through the sea, whether she be Kunapipi of the
Victoria and the Roper, or the Mother of the Iwaidja and other
tribes of Western Arnhem Land.[*]

Mana and Other Problems

The above is the general principle and question raised by the
114 Kunapipi cult. Mr. Berndt's book, however, in giving a description
778 and analysis of this cult, raises many other important matters. For
example, there is the problem of power or "grace" in religion, indicated
in north-east Arnhem Land by the term *dal*. It is the anthropological
problem of *mana* over again. It operates through the Mother
[776] or through Ancestral Beings who in their "spirit parts" are present
in the ritual. But does the ritual automatically release that power,
setting it in motion for the welfare of man and nature? Or is it
manifested through life and increase by the will of the Mother or
other Being in response to the ritual? Obviously, according to the
doctrine, it cannot operate apart from such Being or Beings. Indeed,
is it not that Being in activity or rather in relation to man and nature
—an activity and presence realized in ritual? Problems associated
with the Doctrine of the Trinity are not peculiar to Christianity.

Mr. Berndt agrees with Professor Warner that the Aborigines are
114 not ignorant of physiological paternity. The ritual supports this contention.
842 True, these natives hold also the doctrine of pre-existence,
796 of spirit-children who enter the mothers for incarnation. But, what
this entry does is to provide the "shade", the eternal spirit-part, and
so give life to that which is already in the womb, as the result of
sexual intercourse. Intercourse does not merely prepare the way for
the entry of the child-spirit and for its subsequent birth; this is the
usual view. In addition, it is followed by the formation of the foetus

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[*] The point of entry of the Fertility Mother cult of north-western Arnhem Land is definitely placed by the Aborigines and their song cycles in the Coburg Peninsula. The Kunapipi cult, however, seems to be distinct from this, and while I incline to find its point of distribution in the lower Victoria region, the final decision must wait for more research in the field and further analysis of the material already in hand. Mr. Berndt's maps in this volume refer only to the recent and present movement of Kunapipi songs, the movement west from the Roper being a return along a song route to a western point of distribution, and not necessarily diffusion from a point of entry at the mouth of the Roper.

which then has to be quickened. The coastal Arnhem Landers have 114
had centuries of contact, and it may be that the usually accepted
Aboriginal doctrine of conception has been modified here. In any 842
case, granting the premises, the form in which they hold it is eminently 796
logical.

Amongst the many other interesting points raised by the author 114
is the vital significance of dreams, particularly for ritual and its interpretation.
One of Mr. Berndt's important contributions to the 123
anthropology of northern Arnhem Land is his systematic recording 787
of dreams—a sign of the confidence put in him by the natives, and
also a sign of the objectivity with which they regard dreams.

One last point: Mr. Berndt lays stress on the importance of the 114
ritual rôle played by women in this region. He is correct in doing so. 562
Though they are not on the "Mother Place", yet they are nearby 796
playing their part, a part which stems from the Dreamtime, when the
sacred ritual was theirs; and how else could it be, for life and birth is
through the womb? A cult of the Great Mother would have no
foundation apart from the women through whom her children must
be born. Women here have their sacred aspect and sacred rôle.

The Author and the Field

Mr. R. M. Berndt was well equipped for doing research into the 114
religion of Arnhem Land. After study in the Department of Anthropology,
University of Sydney, he with his wife (Catherine H. Berndt), 121
also an Anthropologist, did four years of field research amongst
Aborigines in both tribal and detribalized conditions. This included
about eighteen months on the south-west of Arnhem Land and on the
border of the Kimberley Division of Western Australia, where he
was introduced to the cult. In 1946 when the Australian National
Research Council was able to make a further grant to these workers, [122]
we selected the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land as the main
field. Research there would be complementary to what Dr. Warner
had done eighteen years before; in addition it was an area subject
to the spread of native customs and rites from both the west and the
south, and was also likely to show some cultural effects arising from
long contact with Macassans or others who visited the region to [797]
engage in marine industry. Finally, although a Mission had been
operating at Yirrkalla for nearly ten years and an Air Force base had [177]
been established there during the war, causing some modification of
native life, in particular, lessening the degree of nomadism, yet in
spite of this, the fundamental drives and beliefs had not been
affected. Men in the prime of life as well as the old men still belonged
to the "old order". It was, therefore, still possible to study the native
religion in its cultural and social setting as a functioning institution.
Fortunately, I was able to assure myself of this during a visit and
inquiries in the region in 1946.

PREFACE

The main purpose of this work is to indicate some fundamental 121
features of an Australian Aboriginal religious cult, the Kunapipi, in
one particular area. North-eastern Arnhem Land has been selected, 794
not because it presents a more exotic background or more spectacular
ceremonies, but because the cult as seen here is fairly well
defined, and because its religious concepts are important and significant
to the people concerned. In this region there are several
fairly well integrated religious cults, having a common theme and
fundamental intent. Most of them, however, have complex local
associations, whereas the Kunapipi ceremonies, which have been
introduced into north-east Arnhem Land, belong to a configuration
which is still widely diffused throughout the Northern Territory.

The plan is to examine the cult as seen in this one region, to consider
its relative importance in adjacent areas, and so prepare the 121
way for a more intensive analysis of it in the central-western part 177
of the Northern Territory. Although introduced, the Kunapipi has
become closely associated with more truly north-east Arnhem Land
mythology, in particular, the Wauwalak, which is used to explain it;
but the Wauwalak mythology itself was at some time diffused into
north-eastern Arnhem Land, apparently from the same direction as
this much later ritual.

The Kunapipi songs of Yirrkalla (in north-east Arnhem Land) [533]
have been derived from those commonly in use further south. By
examining relevant songs and mythology of adjacent areas, it is
possible to trace the movement and diffusion of this cult from one
group to another, and to discuss (for instance) the source of the
Yirrkalla Kunapipi. This is not really difficult, for the Kunapipi (in
all the regions mentioned in this work) possesses the common theme [776]
of a Great Mother, expressed as either a single or a dual personality,
her power being extended to her daughters, the Wauwalak,
Ka'lerika'lering or Mungamunga. She is said to be responsible for the [842]
constant fertility of human beings and other natural species, and the
continuing sequence of the seasons, as well as for the general similarity
of her ritual, emblems and songs. In addition, certain "key" [192]
words, which are sacred, are used widely to designate ceremonies,
objects and sacred beings. 771

What does this cult mean to its postulants ? Why does it exist ? 794
What do the people themselves believe that they are receiving from 796
it ? Its basic intent seems to express the latent or conscious desires of 121
773

121 the individuals who combine to form the social group that carries
out these ceremonies. And if this be so, does the cult adequately fulfil
773 the wishes of the people, or do they feel that something is lacking?
794 All this raises a variety of problems, of which only a few can be
796 treated here. But to understand Aboriginal religion, its belief and
rites, it is essential to have thorough knowledge of the mythology
771 and songs of at least one particular cult. It is not enough merely to observe rituals performed on the sacred ground, and then to theorize from such observations; for Aboriginal sacred ritual is an acting out of mythology, and mythology, in turn, is recorded in elaborate and detailed song cycles which enshrine the meaning and significance of the ritual. Therefore, conclusions can be reached only after an analysis of these three aspects: ritual, mythology and song. This implies that the doctrines, intent and function of a specific religious cult, such as the Kunapipi, may be derived from analysis of the mythological, historical and present-day data available to the field-worker, especially as the cult is still a functioning element in the life of the people. From these we may arrive at some general conclusions con-
121 cerning the essential nature of Australian Aboriginal religion. Such
771 conclusions, however, do not necessarily provide a basis for interpreting "primitive" religion generally, nor a peg upon which to hang theories relating to the origin of religion. Indeed, it is unwise to describe Australian Aboriginal religion by that controversial and dubious term, "primitive". Aboriginal religious concepts, like those of Europe, have been changing through the ages in association with the cultural needs of the people. In the process, Aboriginal religion has developed into a mature and vivid faith, mediated through beliefs and rites, and giving to its adherents a deep satisfaction and happiness.

The whole question of Australian Aboriginal religion needs far
121 more consideration than has been accorded it to date;[1] but before
771 any reliable theoretical studies can be made, it is essential that anthro-
794 pological field-workers should provide considerably more data than are at present available. Here, in this volume, is a study of one religious cult. But it should be kept in mind that this work deals with only one cult in one region, with reference to its diffusion in adjacent areas; other cults exist side by side with the Kunapipi, and still others are found in various parts of Aboriginal Australia. Whether all these cults are basically similar, and have a common intent and function within the separate native cultures, or whether they are fundamentally dissimilar, has yet to be determined.

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[1] E.g. E. Durkheim, *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912; H. Hubert and M. Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice, Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1909; R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, New York, 1924; G. Róheim, *Australian Totemism*, London, 1925, and *Animism, Magic, and the Divine King*, New York, 1930; P. Radin, *Primitive Religion, Its Nature and Origin*, New York, 1937.

Several aspects should perhaps be mentioned in this *Preface,* 121
since they throw new light on the study of Aboriginal religion.

Throughout the greater part of the Northern Territory the con- 771
cept of a Fertility Mother is found. She is the direct or indirect 776
inspiration of all religious thought and activity. She is the central
theme of the Kunapipi ceremonies. Indeed, Kunapipi is one of her
sacred names. Her "eternal" presence throws new light on the
philosophy of totemism in the region, for it was she, herself without
a totem, who brought the totems into being. Animals, birds, rep-
tiles, Spirits, inanimate objects, physiographic features, became
totemic through her divine influence and association, or because they
served some purpose in relation to her "eternal" rôle of creator,
cause of birth and rebirth and seasonal fluctuations. In the Kunapipi
then, the totem bears the sacred imprint of its religious or mytho-
logical connection with the Mother. In this region, therefore, the
study of totemism is a means to an end: and that end, where we have
any detailed knowledge, is the Mother herself, existing as a divine Being
serving as an explanation of religious thought, belief and behaviour.

This leads to the realm of the sacred, but the problem of the demarcation between the sacred and the profane, and of the part played by women in sacred ritual, particularly in the Kunapipi itself, needs to be considered far more intensively than is possible here.

Religious thought and action permeate the whole of an indigenous 121
society, and are not manifested only on the sacred ceremonial ground
when groups meet for the performance of ritual. Therefore, it is 771
sometimes difficult to separate the sacred from the profane. A man 778
or woman does not receive sacred power directly or indirectly from
the Sacred Mother only on the ceremonial ground, through the per-
formance of ritual. He, or she, possesses innately a sacred or divine
essence, which exists apart from any external coercion: whatever
his or her degree of participation in the sacred collective rites, this
personal germ of sacredness remains intact, and cannot be destroyed
even by death. It seems probable however that this individual germ,
which may perhaps be described as a person's own sacred aura, may
be intensified on the occasion of religious ceremonies. The spirit of a
man (or woman) is derived directly from the Sacred Mother; his [774]
bones themselves are possessed of a sacred quality, being likened to
the *rangga* emblems associated with the great ancestral Beings: and
he himself bears "inside" (sacred) and "outside" (secular) personal
names, which are in many cases of sacred origin.

Women have a far greater part to play in sacred religious cere- 121
monies than has hitherto been observed. This is particularly the case 562
in north-eastern Arnhem Land; and in the performance of the Kuna- 771
pipi they are directly responsible for the efficacy of a whole series of 796
ceremonies. Because they do not take part in all the rituals of a
particular cult, this does not mean that they are excluded or are

121 consequently irreligious. Woman, or more precisely her unique
562 ability to create, together with man's power to inseminate, has
771 become a feature of native religion in these areas, crystallized in the
concept of the Mother, whom we see manifested in (for instance) the
796 Kunapipi. The aura thus surrounding, and radiating from, this
[831] Fertility Mother has been extended in some degree to native women
[776] to-day.

Another problem arising from the study of the Kunapipi cult
121 which needs detailed consideration, is that of individual origins.
Throughout the greater part of the Territory, specific cults have been
794 inspired either by one or, in some cases, by two or three Ancestral
773 Beings. Through their own personality and power, it is said, they
succeeded in indoctrinating the whole social group in which they
776 found themselves. They brought with them what appear to have been new ideologies, with attendant ritual, emblems, songs, and mythology in which they themselves now play a dominant part. This individual aspect is apparent in the case of the Kunapipi Mother, who arose from the waters of the Roper River Mouth (*vide* Chapter XI), bringing with her the main features of what we now call the Kunapipi cult. The same principle is evident in the appearance of the Djanggawul (*vide* Chapter I) and of Laintjung (Chapter I) in north-eastern Arnhem Land; both these Beings appear to have inspired virile cults, substantiated by mythology which details their adventures, their activities and beliefs. The society itself, of course, must have been more or less receptive to the introduction of these religious beliefs. That is to say, the religious leader, whether Kunapipi,
[182] Laintjung or the Djanggawul Brother or Sisters, was able to impress
his (or her) own point of view on that society, which in turn was willing to adopt his views and ideas, so giving social impetus to the introduced religion.

This aspect of individual origins, in relation to specific Australian Aboriginal cults, is an important one. The contention, which may be substantiated by mythology and the traditional song-cycles, is that a powerful personality—such as the Great Mother, the acknowledged spiritual leader and inspiration of the Kunapipi cult—possessed of ability beyond the ordinary, can and does exert his or her influence on the society in which he is either temporarily or permanently living; and that influence, helped by favourable circumstances, is sufficient to establish a cult which attracts adherents, and becomes in its own right an important social function and institution.

121 The migration of Ancestral Beings, like Kunapipi and others, into
771 a particular society, bringing with them a religious cult, is a fairly
773 general phenomenon in Aboriginal religious life. Major Ancestral
794 Beings very rarely arise in the country of the people with whom they
are mythologically associated, or in the society which serves as the
776 "incubator" for their specific ideology. Rather, the individual (in

614 Arnhem Land, social organization: the division of society into two
616 groups (that is, moieties) was, with the kinship structure, the traditional norm. But within recent years the sub-section system has
[177] been introduced from the south and south-west, coming up the coast
through Rose River and Blue Mud Bay. In the Milingimbi region it seems to have been introduced at an earlier date, through contact with the inland tribes, particularly the Reinbaranga. At Yirrkalla, however, the sub-sections are not yet completely co-ordinated with the kinship terminology, and among the older people are not in constant use. Certain sub-section terms are however mentioned from time to time in this work, in reference to Ancestral Beings; they will not be discussed in this context, and reference should be made to the work of L. Warner, T. T. Webb, A. P. Elkin and R. Berndt.[3]

c The Religious Quality of Yirrkalla Social Life:

Yirrkalla society, like most other Australian Aboriginal communi-
222 ties, whether of desert, hill or coast, must forage for its food, the
896 abundance of which depends on the particular environment. On the
789 north coast and rivers of Arnhem Land, food of many varieties is
771 available in great quantities. In spite of this, however, its constant supply is said to depend on the rhythm of the seasons, upon the mythical characters of the Eternal Dreaming Period, and on the performance of associated ritual and ceremony. In order to ensure a constant supply of food, in the form of natural species generally, these aborigines rely on the great ceremonial cycles of *djunggawon*, *kunapipi*, *ngu:rlmak*, and the *dua* and *jiritja nara* cycles which are usual in this region. These rituals, associated with the principal Ancestral Beings such as Djanggawul, Wauwalak, Laintjung, Banaitja and Baijini, are the basis of indigenous religion. But they are not concerned merely with the provision of food. Their purpose
[842] is, primarily, to ensure the continuation of the human species; the increase of all other animals, birds, fish, vegetable matter, and so on, is only an adjunct to the main theme.

This religion then is a dominant quality in Yirrkalla life, and is
771 reflected in all its institutions and conventional forms of behaviour.
794 It concerns itself with the fructification of all living things, and in that category human beings themselves are considered the most
789 important. As, however, the Kunapipi cult is especially concerned with their rhythmic sequence of birth and rebirth, it is crystallized in a definite concept of a Fertility Mother. Moreover, the cult is concerned with the coming and going of the seasons, the appearance and disappearance of vegetable and plant matter, and the propaga-

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[3] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* 1937, pp. 116–124, and his Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship, *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 33, 2, 184; T. T. Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 406–408; A. P. Elkin, *op. cit.* pp. 412–416; R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, Chap. 1.

tion of other natural species—all phenomena which are necessary for 771
the continuance and well-being of the people themselves. In keeping 789
with this doctrine, a natural development has been the stress on procreation—the
importance of pregnancy and child-birth, and the 794
essential sequence of sexual intercourse and conception, expressed [842]
particularly in ritual and long song cycles.

In order to understand Kunapipi cult life and belief, it is necessary to summarize very briefly some of the other cults which flourish beside it in this area.

The Djanggawul myth, consisting of several hundreds of lengthy 773
songs, relates the adventures of two men and two women, who in
the Dreaming Period landed at Port Bradshaw, on the north-east [533]
Arnhem Land coast. They had journeyed across the sea from an
island called Bralku, now known as the *dua* home of the dead, somewhere
beyond Groote Eylandt. These Ancestral Beings are known
generally as the Djanggawul, but had their own personal names.
The leader was Djanggawul himself; the two women were his
sisters, the younger Maralaitj, and the older Pildjiwuraroiju; and
their companion was Bralbral, who plays only a minor part in this
great cycle. In their canoe they brought a large conical *ngainmara*
mat, which is now used particularly by the women, and also certain [778]
sacred *rangga* sticks possessing life-giving qualities. The mat symbolized [831]
the uterus; the *rangga* sticks were penes, and when not being
used ritually, were kept hidden in the *ngainmara*.

As the Djanggawul journeyed along the coast, they met other
Ancestral Beings like Laintjung and the Baijini, and Spirits such as [776]
Pomapoma, Kultana, Woijal, Burulu-burulu and others; but none
of these had the procreating powers of the great Djanggawul.
Djanggawul had an elongated penis; and his two sisters had long [831]
clitori which dragged on the ground as they walked. Djanggawul had
sexual relations with his sisters, so that they were continually pregnant.
From time to time, at the camps where they stayed, he would
lift their clitori to one side, and put his hand up into the uteri to
remove many children of both sexes; these were the ancestors of the
present aborigines. The song cycle features the perpetual pregnancy 773
of the two sisters, their uteri being likened to the *ngainmara* mats 533
which they brought with them, while the people who are removed
from them in childbirth are the *rangga*. It is said that a person's
bones are like *rangga*, inherited from both the father and mother, [827]
who in turn inherited theirs through the generations of ancestors,
right back to the Eternal Times of Djanggawul and the creative
heroes. Therefore, at death, a person's material remains, as well as
his spiritual substance, must be treated with respect, and surrounded [764]
by ritual.

An important aspect of this myth, second only to the theme of 773
fertility, concerns the institution of sacred ritual. In the beginning, 796

773 so it relates, the Djanggawul sisters themselves were the sole guardians
of the religious objects and associated ceremonies. They were
796 well acquainted with all the sacred ritual and doctrine, because this
intimately concerned them; the symbols they used, and their actions
in dancing, made reference to the sexual act, to pregnancy and birth.
Aboriginal men to-day speak definitely on this point: "Then we
had nothing: no sacred objects, no sacred ceremonies, the women
had everything." So one day, the myth continues, the men stole the
women's objects while they were out collecting mussels; they took
them back to their own camp, and there performed the special sacred
dancing. The Djanggawul sisters, coming back with their shellfish,
found that their *rangga* had disappeared. They heard, in the distance,
the singing of the men; and finally they decided that perhaps it was
just as well that the men had taken their *rangga*. It would save them
a lot of trouble, they agreed; now the men could carry out most of
the ritual for them, while they busied themselves chiefly with
raising families and collecting food. In this way, their true function
as Fertility Mothers became established. Such an attitude is not con-
[171] fined to north-eastern Arnhem Land, but appears in the mythology
of other Australian Aboriginal tribes. However, women still play
[562] an important part in sacred ritual, for instance in the Kunapipi.

This is a brief summary of the complete version, which gives in
616 detail the main theology of the *dua* moiety. To both *dua* and *jiritja*
796 men and women it is of major importance, for men of both moieties
take part in the *dua nara* ceremonies, although *dua* men alone are the
leaders, singers and principal dancers. The Djanggawul ritual is
concerned with "higher" religious thought, and most of it with
sacred dancing on a sacred ground where a *nara* "shade" or hut has
been constructed. This hut represents the womb; in it the *rangga*
are stored, and from it men emerge, to posture and dance ritually
while holding them.

If the Djanggawul are important to the *dua*, Laintjung and his son
616 Banaitja are equally so to the *jiritja* group of clans who hold the
773 *jiritja nara* ceremonies. The Male Ancestral Beings Laintjung and
Banaitja, with certain female counterparts, dominate *jiritja* religious
ideology; but their mythology is not nearly so vivid as that of the
Djanggawul, nor are their ceremonies so important. Laintjung came
from the sea near Blue Mud Bay, and established his cult. There, and
at nearby places, he distributed sacred totemic designs to *jiritja*
clans; he had also brought with him sacred *rangga*, the *jiritja* "high"
totems, which he gave into the custody of the clans. Although much
[789] of the Laintjung ritual also relates to the increase of the natural
species, most is only indirectly related to fertility.

When his father died, Banaitja desired to broaden and put into
practice some of Laintjung's religious concepts; but his efforts
aroused general antagonism, and at last he was put to death. Later,

however, the people to whom Laintjung had given his sacred designs 616
and *rangga* were sorry for what they had done, and made the "likeness" 773
of Banaitja in paperbark bound on a framework of cane. The
influence of Laintjung and Banaitja, in spite of their importance, did [171]
not cover such a wide area as that of some other Ancestral Beings; and the aborigines account for this by explaining that Banaitja "was killed at an early age, before he had the opportunity of travelling widely throughout this region".

Most of the great religious myths of this region are associated
with the *dua* moiety, the more conservative section; it is the *jiritja* [177]
which embraces new and "alien" ideas and activities. From time to 773
time, fully-initiated *dua* and *jiritja* men are shown the "high" 616
rangga, and through the years they become increasingly familiar
with the complex ritual. This admission to sacred knowledge, however, 561
is not thought comparable to an initiation or age-grading 796
ceremony: it is more in the nature of a revelation through which they become acquainted with the inner substance of religious thought and expression. The *dua* Wauwalak myth, on the other hand, is of general importance, and is associated with the three sacred "age-grading" ceremonies of this north-eastern region. There is also much sacred ritual not concerned with age-grading. Both *dua* and *jiritja*
men take part in this, and it incorporates some purely *jiritja* songs [533]
belonging to separate cycles.

The two Wauwalak sisters are associated with the concept of 773
fertility, owing mainly to their connection with birth, after-birth 796
blood, and menstruation. The latter receives a great deal of attention
in Yirrkalla thought. Aboriginal women are all potential [841]
Wauwalaks; and a great deal of their behaviour, particularly at puberty, and when menstruation ceases at pregnancy, is said to be based on that of the Two Sisters. The Wauwalak myth is most important to these north-eastern Arnhem Landers, and they make frequent references to it. It has, as mentioned, far more general application than have the Djanggawul and Laintjung cycles; and the three separate ceremonies which concern it here are each of a different nature. The commonest is the *djunggawon*, used primarily for
initiation; ideally, it extends over a couple of months, and includes, [881]
in addition to circumcision and camp dancing, a certain amount of ritual which is not fully revealed, as in the case of the Djanggawul. The second of these three ceremonies is the *kunapipi*, which will be dealt with in the following chapters. The third is the *ngu:rlmak* ceremony, performed to-day only at rare intervals. It is considered to be far more important than either the *djunggawon* or the *kunapipi*, but less so than the Djanggawul and Laintjung *dua* and *jiritja nara* rituals.

There are also a number of subsidiary ceremonies, related in some degree to these two main cycles, but not by any means so outstanding.

171 Territory,[4] artists depict human beings, as totemites, flowing from
the uterus of the Mother into the round "ring place" (or ceremonial
794 ground) for the performance of sacred rites. The "ring place" is
773 itself the uterus of the Mother. To-day, in the really important sacred
776 ceremonies, a special ring place is used for the performance of these
rituals. As the neophytes leave the camp for the sacred ground, they
[778] themselves are said to become increasingly sacred, and to enter the
Mother; they go into her uterus, the ring place, as happened in the
beginning. When the ritual is completed the Mother "lets them out";
they emerge from the ring place, and pass once more into ordinary
life. These ring places vary in shape from place to place, but all symbolize
the Mother's uterus. The sacred ceremonies associated with
[778] this Fertility Woman are called in pidgin English "Big Sunday",
inferring a sacred atmosphere from the European connotation of the
word Sunday, while the term refers also to "sandy place", the soft
ground upon which the sacred dancing is performed. The appellation
"Big Sunday", in some regions, may also be derived from the term
"Centre" place, which refers to the sacred ceremonial ground.

All Kunapipi ritual, irrespective of region, has thus a common
● 796 theme. We find in it the return to the Mother's uterus, and the
794 eventual emergence, when the postulants come out from their sacred
ritual refreshed, and as "new" men (that is, it is like a "rebirth"):
771 this symbolic enactment of birth brings with it a renewal of ideals,
energy and faith. Fertility and the supplying of food, sexual pleasure
831 and satisfaction, solidarity within the group, and an undividing
faith in the divine truth of the cult—all these elements are present.
Food and sex, fundamental in human life, and consequently in
religion, owe their continuance, it is said, to the Eternal Mother.
It is not surprising that people living in such close proximity to
nature, with few artificial distractions, should recognise the fundamental
importance of female fertility, and see in it a central theme of
religion.

* * * *

171 In north-eastern Arnhem Land, the Kunapipi cult is not yet
deeply entrenched, since it has been introduced within comparatively
794 recent times. Its earliest infiltration took place through the Reinbaranga
(sometimes termed Rembranga, and localized in south-
177 western Arnhem Land) and Burera tribes and so into Milingimbi,
where Professor L. Warner witnessed some of its rituals twenty years
ago. From this centre it spread westwards towards Goulburn
Islands and Oenpelli,[5] and eastwards to Elcho Island and Arnhem
Bay. But it does not seem to have gripped, at that time, the imagina-

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[4] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *op. cit. Oceania*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Plates I to III; and R. and C. Berndt, Aboriginal Art in Central-Western Northern Territory, *Meanjin*, Spring, 1950, pp. 183–188, ten plates.

[5] R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section IX.

tion of the people further east, around Yirrkalla, Cape Arnhem and 171
Caledon Bay.

It was not until perhaps fifteen years ago that the cult gradually 794
spread northwards from Rose River, where its custodians were the 177
Nunggubоiju group who had obtained it from the Roper River
people, particularly from the Mangarei-Ma:ra-Alawa tribes. The
Lultma'rangu (*dua* moiety), Dalwongu and Mararba (*jiritja* moiety)
linguistic groups were the first to come within its influence; they
mixed with people from Rose River to perform Kunapipi ceremonies
around Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, and occasional Kunapipi
rituals were held round about Yirrkalla.

But although these people did perform the Kunapipi at relevant 171
seasons, this did not take the place of indigenous religious belief and 177
practice. The great ceremonies of the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety *nara* were
still the most important; and the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak* rituals, 616
associated with the two Wauwalak Sisters and the Rock Pythons, 794
retained their importance in the minds of the north-eastern people. 796
Kunapipi in this area was subsidiary, whereas in most of the other
areas mentioned above her rituals held a paramount position.

The introduced Kunapipi cult brought with it all its attendant 177
ritual and ceremonial activity, but apparently its original mythology
(see Chapters IX and X) became merged with that of the Wauwalak.[6] 184
It was, in consequence, more readily accepted by the local people, 773
for the Wauwalak myth-cycle embraces much of the indigenous
religion. Thus, instead of becoming just another introduced ceremony, 794
the Kunapipi became a cult associated with a series of cults, having 796
roots in indigenous mythology. The Wauwalak mythology had much
in common with that of the southern Kunapipi. Both possessed the
same concept of fertility. The Wauwalak sisters became indirectly
the dual Mothers, continually replenishing the earth with human [776]
beings and with the natural species. Even the Rainbow Snake was
present, in the form of the Rock Pythons, who finally swallowed the
Sisters. Fundamentally, too, the arrangement of the sacred dancing
ground, and much of the incidental ceremony (when the special
Kunapipi objects are not used) are similar to those of the *djunggawon*
and *ngu:rlmak* rituals.

One aspect of the Kunapipi is slightly at variance with local 773
indigenous belief. In north-eastern Arnhem Land the Fertility 776
Mothers are the sisters of Djanggawul, Pildjiwuraroiju and Miralaitj.
The Wauwalak, although associated with the idea of fertility, are not 184
concerned with human or animal creation: they are said to be the 794
daughters of the elder Djanggawul sister, removed from her uterus
by her Brother. According to conventional Kunapipi mythology,

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[6] The Wauwalak mythology itself was introduced much earlier into north-eastern Arnhem Land, its original source being found in the mythology of the Kunapipi: *vide* Chapters IX and X.

184 the Mother (or Mothers), represented quite often by Two Sisters
even in central-western Northern Territory, is the creative Being;
773 so from this point of view the Wauwalak cycle, now substantiating
776 the introduced Kunapipi, should possess Two Sisters who are them-
selves creative Beings. Local belief however accords this status only
794 to the Djanggawul; but since the Wauwalak are their daughters, the
original doctrine is not greatly inconvenienced. The creative Mothers
may still be the Djanggawul, making their appearance through the
Wauwalak Sisters, while the Wauwalak themselves are the Munga-
munga of the south.

The actual meaning of the name Kunapipi is not easy to discover.
773 The cult itself, with its relevant ceremonies, and the myth that sub-
794 stantiates the ritual, is Kunapipi, and this, in most areas mentioned
● 796 above, is translated as the "Mother", or "Old Woman". The term
"old" in this context signifies status and age, although not elderly
appearance. Dr. Warner[7] notes that Kunapipi (spelt "Gunabibi") is
[114] one name of the Pythons which swallowed the Wauwalak; but, as
mentioned above, this writer stresses the importance of the Snakes
at the expense of the Fertility Mothers, and this element is by far the
most apparent in north-eastern Arnhem Land religion.

192 At Yirrkalla, the name Kunapipi is said to have two meanings.
304 First, the word Kunapipi means "whistle-cock" (that is, a sub-
83 incisure); for these ceremonies came up from the Rose and the
[171] Roper Rivers where subincision is general, whereas throughout the
greater part of north-eastern Arnhem Land only circumcision is
practised. The ceremonies of Kunapipi in the Yirrkalla region may
also be termed *wiri:i* or *wira'l*, meaning "incisure". But Kunapipi
means also the uterus of the Mother. That is, the incised penis symbolizes the snake (Python or Rainbow Snake), and the incisure
itself the uterus. Symbolically, then, the subincised male member
represents both the female and the male organs, essential in the
process of fructification.

More generally, however, the term Kunapipi is said to mean the Mother, and in isolated cases the Snake, both being accepted versions. It is because Kunapipi is translated as Fertility Mother, through the greater part of the Northern Territory, that we have preferred to use that appellation.

A number of ceremonies throughout the northern half of the
794 Northern Territory are associated with Fertility Mothers and Rain-
796 bow (or Great) Snakes; and it is possible that the majority of these
cults are linked with one another, even if their outward expressions
184 are dissimilar. This aspect requires intensive study, including the
collection of mythological texts, and analysis of relevant ritual and
songs. The Kunapipi cult, however, consists of certain distinctive
elements, that are found throughout the areas we have mentioned.

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[7] L. Warner, *op. cit*, p. 294.

For example, the Kunapipi held at Yirrkalla is essentially similar to 184
that held at Birrundudu (towards the Western Australian border in
central-western Northern Territory). There is the spasmodic use of 794
bullroarers; the sacred ground itself is the uterus of the Mother; a 796
sacred well (*nanggaru*) is dug on the dancing ground; a crescent-shaped trench (*kanala*) is made later; *jelmalandji* "posts" are erected, immense structures symbolizing the Pythons; there is the exchange of wives and gifts, with ceremonial intercourse; and the forked posts, called the *djepalmandji*, are used towards the termination of the rituals. These are features of all Kunapipi, Kalwadi and Kadjari ceremonies.

A word may be said too of the songs that are used in the Yirrkalla- 184
Rose River Kunapipi Cycle.[8] These are mostly of the short conven- 533
tional type common throughout most of Aboriginal Australia,[9] and
their words serve as "key" patterns suggesting and inferring ideas, 794
rather than providing detailed description. This form of song 796
structure is, like the Kunapipi, alien to north-eastern Arnhem Land, where usually songs are very lengthy, description is detailed and repetitious, and separate cycles contain several hundreds of songs (or verses). Secular and magico-religious *tjarada* love songs, which are often associated incidentally with the sacred Kunapipi (for they
are sometimes connected with the Mungamunga), have also found [177]
their way up through Rose River to north-east Arnhem Land, and
have retained their own song-structure against much local opposition from semi-indigenous forms.[10]

The major theme in all Kunapipi ritual is the natural cycle of 794
reproduction and fertility. Fertility, as expressed in reproduction,
seasonal fluctuation, periods of plenty and scarcity, is symbolized 796
in the ceremonies associated with animals, birds and plants, their 831
mating, copulating and bearing offspring in their proper seasons.
The essential factor of mating and copulating, as a step towards 776
reproduction, is crystallized in ceremonial copulation on the sacred ground. And ever present, "eternally" watchful and omnipotent, is the Great Mother, the essence of fecundity, in whose divine power rests the strength to animate and increase both human beings and the natural species. The performance of rituals attracts her interest, and brings into motion her protecting influence, which ensures a continuation of the world that her neophytes know, and the unbroken sequence of the seasons upon which they depend for their livelihood.

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[8] *Vide* Chapters VII and VIII of this work.

[9] R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16-50.

[10] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. In this work a Rose River Love Song Cycle and the *tjarada* are detailed and discussed.

CHAPTER III

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE KUNAPIPI

773 796 794 [561] The myth that substantiates Kunapipi ritual in this north-eastern region is thus concerned with the two Wauwalak sisters; and this same myth (as mentioned in Chapter I *c*) serves to explain two other indigenous rituals, the age-grading *djunggawon* ceremony, and the "higher" religious ritual of *ngu:rlmak*. Each of these three ceremonies, the *djunggawon*, the *kunapipi* and the *ngu:rlmak*, emphasizes some particular feature of this myth. But at the same time, to understand thoroughly the Kunapipi ritual and symbolism it is necessary to be acquainted with the complete Wauwalak myth. Even then, certain aspects must be interpreted, according to Aboriginal explanations, before their meaning can become apparent. Traditional symbolism in ritual, through long years of constant repetition, becomes so stylized that the original intent is sometimes obscured; it is often necessary, therefore, to interpret on the basis not only of mythology, but also of comparison with similar actions and symbols in other regions. However, in this small study we are concerned not so much with theoretical analysis, as with recording the structure and basis of the cult in this particular area, assisted by a glance at its expression in two neighbouring groups.

[616] [184] In north-eastern Arnhem Land, where most of the indigenous religious doctrine is expressed through the Djanggawul *duu* and the Laintjung-Banaitja *jiritja* cycles, the Wauwalak series is not the most important. Again, to understand fully the importance of this concept of fertility it is necessary to realize the place of the Djanggawul Brother and Sisters in Yirrkalla sacred life, for they were responsible in the first place for the birth of the Wauwalak. The power of fructification, however, has been transmitted to the Two Wauwalak Sisters (*vide* Chapters I and II) with the introduction of the Kunapipi.

562 794 796 773 It is relevant to mention, in this context, that women play an important part in all sacred ritual in north-eastern Arnhem Land, where many of the rites are concerned with the reproductive function of womankind, and of female Ancestral (or Spirit) Beings. Women to-day are acquainted, although in many cases somewhat imperfectly, with the background of sacred ceremony and the underlying doctrines. Indeed, men stress the fact that in the Dreaming Period women initially possessed all sacred ritual, and lost it only through

the men's duplicity. This is particularly apparent in the Djanggawul 562
myth (*vide*, for example, Chapters I and IV). Merely because they do 773
not join in certain of the most sacred mysteries, women do not feel 794
"left out" of things, or pushed aside into what has been termed by
some writers a profane existence, with attendant feelings of inferi- 796
ority. On the contrary, they realize that they have a supplementary
function in maintaining camp dancing, and answering the men's
ritualistic calls from the sacred ground. It is necessary, for instance,
that they prepare food for the men at such times, and observe certain
tabus. A woman must know her own totemic clan songs, inherited [424]
from her father, and to a lesser extent those of her mother, and be
able to sing them on appropriate occasions. She must know the
correct dance movements and steps to accompany the men's singing
in the "outside" ceremonies, as well as in the sacred rituals where
she has her own part to play. There is no jealousy of the men's
performances alone on the sacred ground. The men, so women say,
are performing these ceremonies not only for themselves, but for all
the people in general. This is simply a normal extension of the [462]
sexual division of labour and activity.

* * * *

The story of the Wauwalak is rarely told in prose by a story-teller 533
of this region. Usually it is transmitted from one group of men to
another, through the generations, in ritual, accompanied by explana- 773
tions, on the ceremonial ground. Moreover, the whole myth is related in the sacred "inside" Wauwalak cycle of some hundreds of songs, in two main series: the "inside" Bush cycle, and the "inside" seaside cycle, each describing in detail the adventures of the Sisters. There are also the "outside" (secular) Bush and seaside cycles, sung in the main camp to the dancing of women: these continue the story, and reveal many aspects of the myth. Each one of these songs is representative of the very best in native poetry,[1] which it is not possible to set down in the bare general translation presented here.

The Wauwalak myth begins in a region usually unidentified (*vide* 171
Chapter IX), said vaguely to be somewhere south in the "Bush".
This means, perhaps, that the Wauwalak sisters came from the direc- 773
tion of the Roper River, the hypothetical home of the Kunapipi 776
Mother and her two daughters, the Mungamunga. In any case, the Wauwalak came northwards at an early period, towards the mainland opposite the Crocodile Islands (that is, near Milingimbi), bringing with them the rituals of the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak*. Then the myth itself became to some extent localized in northern Arnhem Land. It is on the mainland south of Milingimbi that the most sacred totemic sites connected with the Wauwalak are found;

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[1] This is reserved for a detailed study of the Wauwalak Cycle in relation to the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak* ceremonies.

rain towards the billabong (1). 21 depicts a *gungalung* (big-headed 532
gecko lizard), playing around the Muruwul billabong after the rain; 773
for these lizards always come out at the beginning of the rainy season,
"and follow up the Julunggul".

This is a remarkable drawing of one aspect of sacred mythology in this region; it belongs to a large series dealing with all aspects of religious doctrine in north-eastern Arnhem Land.

This version tells us something of what happened to the Wauwalak after their swallowing. The first version also deals briefly with this aspect, as follows:

After the swallowing, the female Julunggul returned to Muruwul;
there she vomited the Wauwalak and child, who were revivified by
the bites of the ants, but were eventually re-swallowed. The Wau-
walak spirits are still at the sacred well: "we can't see them, although [776]
they can see us, for now they belong to Julunggul". When they see
human beings coming to this site, the Julunggul swallows them
again in their spirit form, "for they are unable to walk about like
ordinary people".

The Wauwalak-Julunggul mythology serves to substantiate the 773
Kunapipi rituals: a co-ordinating thread links the various events
set out in the story, and these are symbolically expressed in the 796
ceremonies. This myth is distributed among the three rituals already
mentioned, the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngu:rlmak*; the *ma:ndiwala*
(the *marndiella* ceremony of Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 329–334), localized [171]
around the Roper and Rose Rivers, has not yet reached north-east
Arnhem Land. Each of them expresses a particular feature of the
myth.

The Kunapipi, adapted as it is to local traditional needs, has lost 773
none of its symbolism and intent. In conventional Kunapipi myth-
ology one of the principal themes is the Fertility Mother's pregnancy, 776
and her giving birth to "Dreaming" folk: these people she kept in 796
her womb, and "let them out" from time to time to perform sacred
ritual. Finally, there is her death, and the totemites' enactment of the
returning to and leaving the Mother's womb. The continual birth
and rebirth of the totemites symbolize the sequence of the seasons, [805]
for Kunapipi had the power to send out the spirits of all the natural
species. She was accompanied by the Rainbow Snake, her male
counterpart.

At Yirrkalla, the Fertility Mothers are the Wauwalak: the pecu- 773
liarly female characteristics of menstruation and afterbirth blood 776
accentuate the concept of procreation. The presence of the Pythons
(the male and female Snakes), their ejaculation of saliva (semen), 831
their entry into the *murlk*, and the swallowing, complete the theme.
The actual swallowing, said to mean coitus, may also symbolize the
"return of the Wauwalak to the uterus of their Mother", as in con-

CHAPTER IV

ITS EXPRESSION THROUGH RITUAL

In the last chapter we saw that the Kunapipi ritual was substantiated by the Wauwalak-Julunggul mythology, possessing certain outstanding features. The Wauwalak had indulged in irregular sexual intercourse before leaving their home territory, and in consequence a child was born to the elder sister. On their journey, they named all the totemic animals, reptiles, birds and vegetables that were to become sacred *marelin* objects, prominent in future ceremonies which would concern the increase of their species, and would include three main rituals, the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngu:rlmak*. The odour from the afterbirth blood and the younger sister's menstruation aroused the great Rainbow or Lightning Snakes (pythons), who caused lightning and rain, representing the onset of the wet monsoonal season. Attempting to stop the progress of the Snakes, the Wauwalak danced and sang songs associated with the above rituals; in this way they furnished songs for the rituals which later would commemorate them. The climax of the myth is the swallowing, the culmination of events that bring about fertility, the action that brings into force the mechanism for the increase of human beings and natural species, and the continuation of the seasons. Subsequent events, such as the talking of the Snakes, the vomiting and re-swallowing of the Wauwalak, merely accentuate the actual climax, and stress the process of birth and rebirth. All these features are expressed, by symbolism, in ritual. 773 796

The myth itself is not an idle chronicle of events that occurred in the past, and are to-day without real and vivid meaning. The Wauwalak, although they lived in the *wonga:r* (Dreaming) Period, when Ancestral Beings walked the earth creating and naming various physiographical features and natural phenomena, are just as much alive spiritually to-day as ever they were. With the Julunggul, they possess qualities and power without which, it is said, man cannot exist. He is in need of "divine" intervention, that will ensure his material and spiritual continuation. This power which releases the forces beyond man's control, but essential to his well-being, is possessed by the great Ancestral Beings who are spiritually "eternal".

The crux of the matter is, how may this "power" be released? To know the sacred mythology and its intent is not sufficient; religion, 773 796 to these aborigines, is not just passive reliance on the Ancestral Beings, an inertia based on the hope that "something is bound to turn up" if they wait long enough. They must do their part to ensure the action of the Ancestral Beings; and their part is the ritual re-enactment of the relevant myth. This releases the "power" (or *dal*) inherent in the Ancestral Beings. This *dal* then finds full expression, and fertility is assured.

Thus the myth is thought to express the intentions of the Ancestral Beings, who possess the power to carry them out; and this power is [805] [789] released (or brought to bear) by sacred ritual. It arranges the seasons, maintains an adequate supply of food, and ensures the continuance of the group as a whole.

Before we proceed with the Kunapipi ritual, it is necessary to relate the final part of the Wauwalak myth, explaining the way in which this ritual was obtained and handed down from *wonga:r* times.

The three rituals, of which only one is to be treated here, are grouped together in terms of kinship ties. The *djunggawon*, an age- [561] [534] grading ceremony, is called *katu*, son, and so is its principal ritual object, the long *julunggul* wooden "trumpet". The *ngu:rlmak*, mainly religious in character and open only to adult postulants, is termed *ba:pa*, father, and so is its ceremonial hollow log *uwar* "drum". The *kunapipi* is *mari* (mother's mother's brother), like its [601] main ritual emblem, the *jelmalandji*. Although the relationship term of *mari* signifying the *kunapipi* is one that normally denotes age (that is, in the grandparents' generation), it is less important from the point of view of sacredness than the *ngu:rlmak*, said to be the major ritual of the trilogy. Sometimes, however, the *ngu:rlmak* is spoken of as "the father of the *kunapipi* side", while the *kunapipi* and *djunggawon* are classified together. But in practice it seems that, irrespective of the terminology of *mari*, the Kunapipi is really of secondary importance.

796 616 All the Wauwalak-Julunggul ceremonies belong to the *dua* clans or linguistic groups, and are under the direction of *dua* moiety totemic headmen; but members of the *jiritja* moiety assist in the dancing, singing, and making of ritual objects, and may even include certain of their own particular dances based on purely *jiritja* myth cycles. *Dua* ceremonial leaders, however, are recognized as the principal custodians of indigenous ritual, for they possess not only the Wauwalak but also the Djanggawul. In contrast to the more conservative *dua* groups, the *jiritja* have incorporated introduced themes[1] into their ritual life.

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[113] [1] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Secular Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, 1949, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222, with plates; Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; and R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, for publication.

The Kunapipi should be primarily *dua*, but a split of some kind 796
seems to have taken place, so that now the *jiritja* moiety groups have
a separate song cycle; this may perhaps be explained by the fact that, 616
in the eyes of the north-east Arnhem Landers, the Kunapipi is of alien
origin. The division of ritual activities between both *dua* and *jiritja*
people is of importance in ascertaining the relationship of individual aborigines to the Wauwalak ceremonies. This aspect is most
apparent in the manufacture of the *jelmalandji* "posts"; but we can
touch upon it only briefly here. We are concerned not so much with
the individual's attitude towards his ritual and mythology, or with
the relationship of the various neophytes to one another on the
sacred ground, as with the fundamental doctrine of this particular [771]
Aboriginal religion and its expression in ritual. Therefore the individual must play only a subsidiary part in this specific study.

After the swallowing of the Wauwalak, the Two Sisters "changed" 773
their names to Ka'lerika'lering (or Girilinggiriling, that is, "having
been swallowed") so that they "could belong to the Kunapipi side". 796
That is, in theory, during the performance of the Kunapipi, the Sisters are no longer called by the term Wauwalak, although this is still employed in the *ngu:rlmak* and *djunggawon*. We shall, however, when referring to the Kunapipi, continue to call them Wauwalak.

Shortly before this, an unmarried male python, called *Lu'ningu* (that is, from *lu'ni*, a young unmarried man; *lu'ningu*, "place of young unmarried men"), had come out of the sacred Muruwul well, and watched the Julunggul swallowing the Wauwalak. When they were vomited out, Lu'ningu went all round the Muruwul country, swallowing all the young unmarried boys (termed *lu'nilu'ni*). But whereas the Wauwalak were vomited and became alive, the young boys were vomited dead, and did not revive. They had died while inside the Snake, and when they were vomited there was no flesh on their bodies; only bones emerged.

As a protest against this outrage by Lu'ningu, the remaining men held a large meeting and decided to kill the Snake," for he was no good, this Lu'ningu: he had swallowed all the young men and they had died". They compared the Lu'ningu with the Julunggul, saying: "Lu'ningu is no good, he vomits up his people dead. But Julunggul is all right; he vomited up the Wauwalak so that they were alive". So they hunted out Lu'ningu, spearing him until he died.

"What are we going to do?" they asked one another then. So they 773
made a large *jelmalandji* which stood upright in the ground, in
memory of this Snake. That is, "they took a picture of Lu'ningu" 778
saying, "we have to make this Snake, because we killed him". Some 796
confusion exists here, in identifying the *jelmalandji* with the Lu'ningu;
in the big Kunapipi rituals this object is said to represent the Julunggul who swallowed the Wauwalak.

773 When these people had completed the *jelmalandji* emblem, they
held another meeting "to think about the Wauwalak". "What are
● 796 we going to do about the blood of those two women ?" they asked
[778] one another.

The most important ceremonial headman, named Nga:ti (that is, termite, sometimes called "meat" ant, who was responsible for revivifying the Wauwalak), stood up; grasping the blade of his stone-spear, he cut his arm and let the blood flow out. "We make ourselves like those two women", he said.

Then other men got up; while some cut a vein inside the elbow,
[785] others cut the inner part of their forearm above the wrist, and all tied
ligatures about their upper arms. This is a substitute for re-opening the penis incisure to obtain a flow of blood similar to that of the Mother Kunapipi: it should be remembered that a great deal of the original Kunapipi ritual concerns subincising groups.

As they let the blood flow they said, "Ah, very good: that is the blood of the 'Spring' Women (that is, afterbirth blood and the menstruation)".

"And what shall we do for the Snake's 'shout' (that is, the sound
773 made by the Julunggul) ?" they asked.

778 They built another *jelmalandji*, larger than the first, to represent
the Julunggul who swallowed the Wauwalak. They smeared arm
796 blood all over its surface, and on to it fastened wild cotton (or white
feather down) to form a pattern symbolizing the Snake. "But it makes no sound", they said. "It is not like the Julunggul of the *djunggawon*, that when blown makes the sound of the Snake; nor is it like the great *uwar* which 'cries out' when beaten. What shall we do ?"

So they took a clean piece of wood, from the tree which the
[534] Julunggul had split by lightning (see previous chapter), and marked
it with the Snake design. They obtained human hair cord, and threaded it through the hole they had bored at one end of the wooden slab. When they swung this object (the bullroarer), they could hear the sound of the Julunggul: "this is the different shout, for the Kunapipi side".

In this case, too, contrary information exists: and this bullroarer
773 for use in the Kunapipi is sometimes said to be the voice of Lu'ningu.
778 Its sound then is a "little bit low", spasmodic and quick, for this
Snake was full from having eaten so many young men, and he was
796 tired. In the *ngu:rlmak* side, the sound of the bullroarer is longer and
784 heavier, for the Julunggul had eaten only the Wauwalak and the
child. In the eastern *ngu:rlmak* rituals, however, the bullroarer is not used, being reserved solely for the Kunapipi. Such confusion in the identification of fundamental ritual objects is not unusual in Aboriginal religion; and for our purpose here it is preferable perhaps to conform to the original version, in which the bullroarer is said to be

the voice of Julunggul.[2] At the same time, however, the Lu'ningu 796 184
Snake plays an important part in purely male sacred life.

The whole problem of interpretation depends on the distribution 773
of the Wauwalak ritual among the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and [778]
ngu:rlmak. For example, the first is a re-enactment of the swallowing of the Two Sisters by Julunggul, and the performance of totemic ceremonies relevant to the animals caught by the women for food. The second concerns the swallowing of the young men, the presence of Julunggul after the swallowing of the Wauwalak, and a number of dances relating to copulation and procreation, stressing the theme of fertility. The third and final ceremonial sequence deals principally with the *murlk* shade, and with other Snakes including the Julunggul. All these rituals to some extent overlap, and the whole myth may be enacted to create a framework for specific aspects.

In the *djunggawon* the Python is called Julunggul and swallows the Wauwalak. In the Kunapipi it is usually known as Moiit, and in addition to swallowing the young men, and disgorging and re-swallowing the Wauwalak, is said to have swallowed the Nga:ti; but this is not substantiated by relevant mythology, and appears to be a Rose River addition. In the *ngu:rlmak*, the same Snake is known as *uwar*. As Julunggul is the commonest sacred term for the Python, it has been retained throughout this work, although some alternatives have been used.

In the Kunapipi, male neophytes leaving the main camp for the sacred ground are said to be swallowed by Lu'ningu, just as he swallowed the young men in the Dreaming Era; and in the old days they had to stop away from womenfolk from a period of two weeks to two months, symbolizing their stay inside the belly of the Snake. When the period of ceremonies is finished they return as new men (for Lu'ningu vomited up the young men dead). In the *djunggawon* the sacred ritual is associated more with women, because of the Wauwalak, and the novices may be seen constantly: "for those Wauwalak were vomited quickly, and were soon alive".

It is the practice, in the Kunapipi, to send messengers in all direc- 773
tions, notifying various groups that a ceremony is to take place.
Young male postulants are also sent with their guardians, and their 796
going symbolizes "vomiting". That is, in leaving their home camp and 203
going to another some distance away, they are being vomited through the air to the strange place by Lu'ningu (in other versions, by Julunggul). And when they eventually return, together with alien groups who are to attend the Kunapipi ceremony, they are swallowed again "just as the Wauwalak were", or like the young men in the

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[2] In regions where the Kunapipi is more or less indigenous, the sound of the bullroarer is the Fertility Mother's voice, and the object itself symbolizes her uterus. *Vide* Chapters IX–XI. In other areas, the bullroarer represents the penis, and its symbolism depends sometimes on its shape and sound. [534]

773 Dreaming Period. When they first leave their home camp they are
painted with red-ochre and arm-blood, which represent the blood
● 796 of the Wauwalak. That is, for the purpose of the ritual they become
203 the Two Sisters, and are swallowed by Julunggul; and on their emergence
from the ritual, they are revivified just as were the women. On
their returning home, they are again smeared with red-ochre and arm
blood before entering the sacred Kunapipi ground.

In all the rituals we find the main theme of the Wauwalak's adven-
773 ture with Julunggul; but subsidiary Pythons are present, and tend to
confuse this aspect of the doctrine. There are Lu'ningu, the Julunggul
796 herself (either alone, or with her husband playing an active or inactive
776 part), and the group of young snakes who watched the actual swal-
lowing of the Wauwalak. Another python, an unmarried male, is
associated with Gru:awona, where he still lives in his spirit form.
He threw up a great amount of earth and formed a hill; then he dug
up more earth, and formed another hill with a high bank at one side.
Under this bank he lives, beside the deep pool; here the water is
continually swirling, and its surface is the colour of the rainbow.
Close by, at Muruwul, it is said, is a rainbow reaching up into the
sky: that is Julunggul "twisting up" to catch the Wauwalak. It was
here, at Muruwul, that man first "took part for that Snake" (see
myth above); "for that Snake got to be Dreaming *mareiin* for us,
because he swallowed the Wauwalak. Now we make that Wauwalak
[778] *murlk* on our sacred ground, in just the same way as it was first made
at Muruwul. In it we place the long wooden *julunggul* 'trumpet', all
painted and decorated in totemic designs, for the *djunggawon*, or
the *uwar* log 'drum' for the *ngu:rlmak*. And instead of Julunggul
swallowing the Wauwalak, it swallows the young boys we send out
to the rituals".

In the Kunapipi the two long *jelmalandji* emblems are erected, but they cannot "talk"; "we have to make sound for them, so we twirl a bullroarer". This is called, in translation, the "shout side", because, informants explain, "those two *jelmalandji* couldn't speak, and we have to make own language for them". Orthodox versions stress that the *jelmalandji* are the two Snakes, the male and female Julunggul,[3] standing up looking about after having swallowed the Wauwalak and the child, and talking to other Pythons on the Wessels and else-
773 where.

778 The *murlk* or hut, also called *bambu:la* (a very sacred term), is not
used to any extent in the Kunapipi, but it is present in both the
796 *djunggawon* and the *ngu:rlmak*. As well as being the hut in which the

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346 [3] In central-western Northern Territory these *jelmalandji* are said to represent both the Fertility Mother and the Rainbow Snake (a superimposition of the snake on the Mother); at Birrundudu, the *jelmalandji* had pearl-shell eyes, and other decorations. And in some versions (see later) one *jelmalandji* is the Snake, and the other the "cabbage" palm growing at Muruwul (the latter serves to symbolize the Julunggul).

Wauwalak sheltered, and into which the Julunggul came, the *murlk* 773
symbolizes the uterus of the Mother (the Wauwalak or Djanggawul). 778
Old aborigines say: "You know, when the Julunggul went into the
hut, we mean that a penis is entering a woman's vagina, and this hut 796
is a uterus too: that is why we have it on the sacred ground, for it 346
reminds us that everything must come from the Mother's uterus.
That is how we came in the Dreaming; and people still continue to
come in that way, don't they? And why do we have that Julunggul?
Well, don't we have to have a penis to open up and inseminate the
woman, so that she can give birth to children? And when the
Julunggul swallows the Wauwalak, that is like a penis being swallowed by a vagina, only we put it the other way around. Now, when
we hold our big rituals, we do the very same things, because we want [789]
the seasons to come, and things to grow, and people to be born:
that is the real meaning of what we do".

The Kunapipi rituals have been described in some detail by Dr. 114
Warner (*op. cit.* pp. 290–311), and the reader is referred to this for
comparisons. We will mention only various features found in the 796
Yirrkalla region, indicating their relation to the Wauwalak mythology, and interpreting (from native explanations) the actions of the neophytes. It is beyond the scope of this work to record minute details of each stage of the ceremony, for this would entail description of dancing and many irrelevant actions, individual interpretations, and the whole interaction of men and women in and away from the sacred ground. Some of the Kunapipi songs, used both on the sacred ground and in the main camp, are given in Chapters VII and VIII, and these reveal certain details not treated here.

* * * *

The Kunapipi is held usually in the dry season, when food is 796
plentiful; for during this ceremony people are reaping the benefits of
performances held in the previous year, and at the same time are
preparing for the coming wet season and the subsequent growth of
food. Ceremonies may extend over a period of two weeks to two
months, and in unusual cases as long as two years. But now, when [797]
the Mission frowns on the Kunapipi and its attendant rituals, it may
be brought to a close after a few days with the result that much of the [177]
intricate symbolism is omitted. The principal Kunapipi leader is
usually a man of the Li:alauwermiri or an affiliated linguistic group, [614]
or one whose totemic *rangga*, *mareiin* objects, or song cycle are
associated with Muruwul sacred well and the Wauwalak. In the [616]
Yirrkalla region the Kunapipi leaders may have come from Rose
River, being members of groups which are in other respects culturally
alien, or from *dua* clans near Rose River who have obtained the
Kunapipi from further south.

796 [203] [561] The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

796 778 [534] [533] In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a ceremonial ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place; this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer, its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

796 533 535 Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are called *gudambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred *garma* (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end, the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs with their rapid rhythm.

796 [534] Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bullroarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, followed by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritja* snakes.

796 881 [302] Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate). The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

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[778] [4] The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *munggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

as far as the women in the main camp are officially concerned, are 796 "swallowed by the Snake". Theoretically, they are not supposed to return to the society of women until they are re-born at the end of the 881 Kunapipi. Old men "chase the Snake back" into the sacred ground, where it swallows the initiates; thus they avert the disaster of the whole main camp's being swallowed by Julunggul. This part of the ritual reveals a propitiatory aspect; the initiates "are given" to the Julunggul in order to save the rest of the camp.

Later that night the men return, having left the boys in the protection of their guardians; they tell the women (particularly the initiates' mothers, mothers' sisters and mothers' mothers), "All the young boys have gone to-day; Julunggul has swallowed them up". And the women wail, singing the clan songs of the initiates, as if they were dead. In practice, the women do wail, as they do in the *djunggawon* when the boys are taken out to the sacred ground by the men; [152] but in theory it is said that "the women don't cry, for they might become sick", since Julunggul might be antagonized, thinking the [753] women objected to her methods. "She might return and swallow them too".

On the two following nights, the same events take place: Julunggul comes towards the camp, her voice is heard, and more young initiates are taken out. This continue until all the initiates are collected on the sacred ground; and a sequence of totemic dancing takes place, "teaching" the young boys. Some of this dancing takes place before dawn; intermittent singing and acting continue all night, while the women return the calls of the men from the main camp, or cry out when they hear the hum of the bullroarer. The cry of the women is the cry of the Wauwalak when they saw Julunggul; and when they dance, their dancing is similar to that of the Wauwalak, trying to stop the progress of the Snake. The *jiritja* snake men dance to represent the snakes who watched Julunggul swallowing the Wauwalak. The totemic animals, birds and vegetables that are sung and danced at morning and evening rituals are those seen by the Wauwalak, or collected by them for food. These, it will be remembered, became *mareiin*, sacred, when they left the Wauwalak and joined their ceremonial leader, Julunggul, in Muruwul well.

A little later the men, who have spent part of the evening on the 796 sacred ground, leave this place, and dance with lighted paperbark torches towards the main camp. On their way they meet the women, crouched under conically shaped mats, termed *ngainmara*.[5] Two old women walk up and down, calling out the names of foods which at

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[5] The *ngainmara*, made of plaited pandanus, is now rarely seen in native camps of this region, having been superseded by blankets. It was once (as mentioned [285] in Chapter 1 *c*) an important part of a woman's equipment, used for providing shade, for a protection against mosquitoes and sandflies, and for a [841] temporary shelter for a menstruating girl. Symbolically, it represented the uterus, and this aspect is treated in detail in the Djanggawul cycle. (*Vide* R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication).

796 this time are forbidden to women, and relating all the incidents that
directly refer to the Wauwalak, for example, the pregnancy of the
elder sister, the flow of afterbirth blood, and the menstruation of the
young girl.

The *jiritja* snakes call out, and are answered by the women; and nearby the bullroarer is twirled again. Then the dancing men file around the *ngainmara*-covered women, the leader beating his sticks and singing; the young boys are present. The women have brought presents of food, which are handed over to the *jiritja* snakes and their companions.

The dancing men symbolize Julunggul surrounding the women (the Wauwalak in their *murlk*); but these are not swallowed, because none are menstruating or have after-birth blood. "The men dancing around are smelling, but they smell no odour of blood."

About this time, visitors from surrounding territories reach the
796 Kunapipi camp; and the foregoing rituals, that serve as introduction
574 to the ceremony as a whole, are completed. Some of them, however,
are repeated, both at the sacred ground and at the main camp;
important features are the men's dancing around the *ngainmara*-
[431] covered women, and the giving of presents, which are taken back to
the ceremonial ground and offered first to Julunggul (for his swallowing) before being eaten.

On the sacred ground the *jiritja* men dig a large hole (*nanggaru* or
796 *nonggaru*, billabong) representing Muruwul; all the animals, birds,
536 and vegetables, in the guise of totemic actors, climb into it and dance,
just as did those which "ran away" from the Wauwalak. Two other holes are dug, and in each hole squats a man; one, covered with paperbark, represents the female child of the elder sister, while another actor squats outside the hole as the mother. In the second hole is the younger sister, who is menstruating. The "child" in the hole cries, and the "mother" moves around it; then both the "sisters" leave their positions and dance like the Wauwalak. A number of these totemic animals and so on, particularly the opossum, form pairs (male and female) and enter the *nanggaru* (Muruwul), where they simulate coitus.

A number of actors, representing opossums, dance forward
[831] around the *nanggaru*; the males have long erect bark penes protruding from their hair-belts. They enact the copulation of these animals.
[881] All these dances are accompanied by singing and beating of sticks,
and the young boys going through this ceremony are shown each one and told its significance. On the conclusion of the dancing, every morning and evening, *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukalilji* (*jiritja*), depending on the singing, are called by the leader. Men crouch together while the *bukali* "power" names are called in reference to the totemic beings, and at intervals they shout. [These "power" names, being sacred terms (although there are secular power names too) are in the manner

of invocation.] Most of the actors are smeared thickly with wallaby 796
or kangaroo grease, and then with red-ochre. When they become hot 536
from dancing the grease runs and drips off them, symbolizing the [302]
sweat of a pair of totemic animals (or human beings) after coitus.
The shining grease is termed *laklak*, which is an alternate name for the younger Wauwalak sister.

When the second new moon appears from the beginning of the 796
Kunapipi, depending, of course, on the proposed length of the ceremony,
the men again go out to the sacred ground. Warner (*op. cit.* 778
p. 301) mentions that the Muruwul well (or *nanggaru*) is abandoned [805]
at this stage; but in the eastern counterparts witnessed and discussed,
it is retained. This appears to depend mainly on the inclination of the Kunapipi leaders, who at Yirrkalla usually take their pattern from Rose River. A large crescent-shaped trench is dug, the *ba'uma* (also called *kanala*, or *kanalaru*, the central-western Northern Territory term). This is an extremely important symbol in the Kunapipi. It is usually about ten to twelve feet long, four to five feet deep, and about four feet wide, with earth piled along its concave sides. And it may signify any of the following: the track mark of the female Julunggul; the mark left by her fall, after swallowing the Wauwalak; the crescent-shaped position in which the Wauwalak rested in their *murlk*, before the Snake swallowed them; the clitoris of the Wauwalak; and, its real "inside" meaning, the uterus of the Wauwalak (as a substitute for the Djanggawul Fertility Mothers). Another smaller hole is also dug during some ceremonies; this is called the "younger hole", the uterus of the younger sister, whereas the larger *ba'uma*, also called *da:p* (or *dapi*, foreskin, symbolizing a dilly-bag or uterus), is the uterus of the elder sister. But the principal hole is the *ba'uma*, and is always present in the Kunapipi.

When the *ba'uma* is completed, snake totem actors dance or writhe 796
in the hole. Then two actors, one representing a man and another a
woman, dance the "mating dance". The man has an erect bark penis 831
and moves in pursuit of the "woman", who is desirous of coitus: 535
they move towards the trench and dance around it, and at its entrance
they simulate sexual intercourse. The Mother is said to be present [776]
in the *ba'uma*, and her life-giving powers are made operative by the
sexual actions of the two dancers. ("The acting of coitus by the totemites is like the uterus being fertilized": the Mother is having sexual intercourse, so that she may produce.)

Various other dances are held in the *ba'uma*, at which the young initiates are present; the majority are related to coitus. There is, for example, the *darl:t* dance. Two men, representing male and female wagtails, sit opposite each other in the trench with legs folded beneath them; their knees touch, and in the dancing they simulate coitus. There is also the *moiit'manina* (*moiit* being an alternate name for Julunggul) dance, of the male and female Julunggul Rock

796 Pythons. One sits on the thighs of the other in the trench, and they
535 have "coitus". These ceremonies are spread over a number of days,
831 often with a certain amount of repetition.

In the meantime, the *jiritja* men have been making the *jelmalandji*
796 emblems. It is said that "the *jiritja* have got a *dua* job", and they hunt
778 all the *dua* away from the special place near the sacred ground where
[616] the manufacture is in progress. This "giving the job" to the *jiritja* is
termed *ir'womdji* or *maralwa*. They must be paid with food, clothing,
tobacco and indigenous objects, not on the sacred ground but in the
main camp. The *jelmalandji* are twelve to twenty feet in length, and
about two and a half feet wide at the centre. They are formed with a
solid pole, around which pads of grass and paperbark (and in these
days blankets and bagging) are tied with native fibres. The outer
covering of bark is then smeared with arm blood and red-ochre, on
to which is fastened birds' down or wild cotton so that a meandering
pattern is formed, symbolizing Julunggul. At the apex of the "post"
[301] is a bunch of cockatoo feathers "like a man wears in his hair". Both
jelmalandji, one larger than the other, have similar designs. But
although one represents Julunggul, the other is said to be the
"cabbage" or "wild coconut" (*gulwiri*) palm, which was standing
near the Wauwalak's hut, or at the palm-tree swamp from which the
blood was washed down to the sacred well (or billabong). Aborigines
[773] explain, "they made the Snake out of that tree", meaning either that
the first *jelmalandji* was constructed from the palm tree, or that the
Snake itself was derived from it. The latter is probably correct, for
this "wild coconut" palm is said to be the spirit of Julunggul: "their
spirits were standing in the shape of palm trees near Muruwul, when
the Julunggul emerged from the well to swallow the Wauwalak".

While the *jiritja* are making the *jelmalandji*, the *dua* prepare the
796 feather down for body decoration: this has come from the *jiritja*,
237 who are paid for it. It is the *dua* who play the most important part in
301 the ceremonial dancing; and while the final touches are being put to
616 the *jelmalandji*, the *dua* actors decorate themselves, sticking on the
feathers with arm blood. When everything is ready, the two moiety
[783] groups meet each other, and rub sweat over one anothers' eyes;[6]
after this, each group may see what the other has done. The *jiritja*
examine the body designs of the *dua*, and the latter may observe the
jelmalandji.

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[6] That is, the *jiritja* rub sweat from their armpits over the eyes of the *dua*, and *vice versa*. This process is carried out when new *rangga* objects or *mareiin* ceremonies are seen for the first time, or when novices or visitors are observing sacred dancing or ceremonial emblems (objects, body or bark paintings, and so on). It means that their eyes may now be opened, they can now see "with sacredness". "The old people have to do this to us before we can see"; for, as one informant explained, "It is like moving over some of the old Law to the youngest (younger generation), and we get trouble if we look straight away". It is called *bunggun'mirljanmu*.

On the same evening, the young boys "passing through" the 796
Kunapipi are placed on the heaped-up earth beside the *ba'uma* 881
(*kanala*), and a shallow trench, some fifty feet long, is extended from
one end. The *jelmalandji* have not yet been brought out. Various 535
groups of men, representing mainly opossums, dance down this
trench towards the boys. The initiates are moved to the shallow
trench, and the men dance along it into the *ba'uma*. Then the boys
are moved and placed in the *ba'uma* itself: this is the core of their
Kunapipi experience. They are covered with bark and told to go to
sleep; and as they lie there, "covered up in the hut like the Wauwalak
Sisters", men dance the yam, opossum, wild honey, rat,
wallaby, iguana, native companion and kangaroo – all those animals, [262]
birds, reptiles and vegetables which the Wauwalak attempted to cook.
They dance down the shallow trench and almost on to the boys.

Then, suddenly, the bark that covers the boys is removed: they are
dazed, as if from sleep. The older Kunapipi leaders step forward and, [783]
taking sweat from under their armpits, rub the palms of their hands
across the eyes of the boys. They tell them to look up: "See, the
Julunggul are emerging from the waters!"

"Which way?" they ask.

As they look they see the two Snakes standing beside the *ba'uma*, each supported by one man: these are the two *jelmalandji*, one the Julunggul and the other the "palm" tree. The boys are "very surprised", asking "What's this? Where did they come from?"

"They are the *jelmalandji*", reply the old leaders. And the two *dua* men holding the *jelmalandji* begin to shake them, "making the Snakes dance".

"Ah! ah!" The boys keep staring up at the great towering *jelmalandji*.

Then the men dance a series of totemic dances, similar to those mentioned above, before the *jelmalândji* and the boys.

These are followed by the spectacular "pokiti" head-dress dance, 796
performed by two of the older men. They wear tall, conically shaped 292
head-dresses, built up on top of the head from a basis of grass or 535
bark pads, bound tightly with human-hair twine so that they taper
to a point; this in turn is decorated with arm blood upon which down 881
has been stuck to form the Snake design, and cockatoo or native
companion feathers are attached to the apex. The word "pokiti" is
pidgin English; the real "outside" secular name (widely known) is
kundjă, and the "inside" sacred name *milali*; when the two old men
dance together they are called *jalwaru-* (or *jalwul*) *milali*. The actors [301]
are decorated with birds' down, and bunches of leaves are attached
to their upper arms. [237]

The "pokiti" itself represents the short pandanus or screw palm, seen by the Wauwalak, growing in the swamp at Muruwul: the movement of the head-dress in the dance signifies the pandanus

796 292 535 881 moving up and down with the swell of the water. The two actors dance towards the *jelmalandji* and the boys, holding carved wands that represent the pandanus shoots. They move forward slowly, their "pokiti" slightly waving, like the pandanus gently swaying in the calm swirl of the "spring" waters. When their actions are quickened their heads shake violently, and this is the pandanus rustling and bending in the strong "spring" waters[7] resulting from the rains sent by Julunggul. The feathers at their apex are the snakes' heads, appearing between the pandanus clumps.

When they reach the *ba'uma* both actors kneel and are surrounded by the singing and stick-beating leader and other participants. They shake their "pokiti" until these become loose, and the leader knocks them off and rubs himself against the actors (that is, he is spiritually one with the totemic dancers). The young boys, and others who are not fully conversant with Kunapipi ritual, as well as visitors, are rubbed against the "pokiti" or against the decorated down on the actors' bodies; this contact transfers "power" (or the sacred essence of the Dreaming) from one to the other. Then the sacred *bukali* "power" (invocation) names are called over the actors, while they shake themselves, to the accompaniment of the beating sticks. Other dances follow, most of which concern the things seen by the Wauwalak at Muruwul.

Next comes the *djamala marciin*, or ritual fire-throwing. The term 796 372 881 *djamala* serves as an important link in all Kunapipi rituals, here and elsewhere, for although it has lost its real significance at Yirrkalla it still includes the throwing of fire-brands. In central-western Northern Territory, for example, Kunapipi ritual is divided into morning (day) and evening (night) ceremonies, the former termed *wilbibi* and the latter *djamalara* (*djamala* being a variation).[8]

In the Yirrkalla version of the Kunapipi, the throwing of fire-sticks by older men across the sacred ground, and over the *ba'uma* in which the boys sit, symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul; the Snake flashes the lightning over the camp in which the Sisters are resting.

796 881 Then two actors dance forward, representing the Wauwalak Sisters; one has a paperbark pad which is the "child". From one side of the ground another actor appears; he is the Julunggul Snake, and moves slowly forward towards the "women", until he reaches

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[192] [7] These strong waters are called secularly *ka'leia*, or in sacred speech *gumanggunl*: the latter word is a corruption of the term *gumugu*, which is of very general use in the central-western Northern Territory Kunapipi. For a further definition see Chapters X and XI.

[8] For a further example of the widespread use of this word, see R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section X. In that area it has been corrupted to *djama:luk* or *jamaluk*, and refers to a secularized promiscuous ceremony. Real *djamalara* singing includes some of [533] the most beautiful sacred rhythms in Aboriginal Australia.

the mound piled beside the *ba'uma*. When the Wauwalak actors 796
see the Snake, they act as if "they are shamed", here termed 881
g(w)o:ra'nganbinganbi. They are "shamed" because they have the
child, and their blood is running.[9]

When this dance is over, two *dua* men bring out a pole from the darkness of the bush beside the sacred ground, and hold it horizontally, waist-high from the ground, on the concave side of the *ba'uma*. Within the crescent trench lie the young boys, and on the opposite (the convex, though sometimes on the concave) side of the *ba'uma* the *jelmalandji* stand, held by two men. Then, to the ritual crying of all participants, the *jelmalandji* are pushed over so that they hit the pole and tumble to the ground. They are picked up, and pushed over again; this is repeated several times, until the feathered ornaments on top of the *jelmalandji* fall off. The Julunggul are falling over, after swallowing the Wauwalak.

Then the young boys are removed from the *ba'uma* and placed on
the mound beside it, while the *jelmalandji* are put in their place.
Fire-sticks are thrown into the *ba'uma*, to burn the grass and paper-
bark surrounding the central poles of the *jelmalandji*. At the same [785]
time men open their arm veins, sprinkling blood on one another and
into the trench; this is the blood of the Wauwalak, and blood itself [826]
symbolizes life. Rows of dancing men come down the sacred ground
and along the shallow trench, to and around the *ba'uma*, pushing the
mound into the trench and gradually filling the hole, until the earth
from dancing feet covers the *jelmalandji*, and the ground is flattened
"so that no one will see that trench".

This completes the main section of the Kunapipi: the sequence of these rituals may be changed according to the inclination of the totemic leaders, or some may be omitted.

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This is followed by two concluding features: the ceremonial 796
exchange of wives, and the return of the young boys into secular 837
camp life. The latter always takes place at Yirrkalla; but local
aborigines say that the former is less common, and it does not seem [881]
to be well integrated with indigenous social behaviour. Mission [797]
pressure has been brought to bear, in recent years, on the perform-
ance of the Kunapipi, and especially on ceremonial intercourse; but [177]
it is still practised at Milingimbi and Rose River, and away from white
supervision on the settlements.

In other parts of the Territory where Kunapipi holds sway, and where "Big Sunday" is an integral part of native religious life, ceremonial copulation brings these rituals to a climax. It represents a

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[9] The word "shame" signifies "shyness", the normal feeling a menstruating woman feels towards a man who observes her blood. The European cultural connotation is lacking in this pidgin translation of the native term. [841]

796 culmination of all the religious and totemic ceremony of the past weeks, and helps to serve as an emotional outlet. It establishes
837 goodwill between participants, and cements the bonds of friendship, bringing groups closer together. Ill-will and jealousy cannot, theoretically, flourish at such a ceremonial time. Moreover, it draws the women closer into the sacred scheme of the Kunapipi, by entering into the fundamental physical relationship between men and women: for the sexual act is basic to these rituals, its significance deeply rooted in the concept of procreation, brought about through the contact of male and female. Thus ceremonial copulation, ritualized in the Kunapipi, substantiates the religious doctrine, and stresses its underlying meaning of fertility.

Generally speaking, in the Kunapipi ceremonial areas, ritual copulation is termed *ka'rangara*; and in the Birrundudu Kadjari (equivalent of the Kunapipi) it is associated with certain special forms of dancing by men and women on the sacred ground. At Yirrkalla it is called *djambinba*, meaning "the working", for natives use the word *djama* ("work") when referring to the act of coitus. But the exchanging of wives is called *g'ruliriliri* or *liririja*.

[609] Visitors who have come for the Kunapipi ceremonies have their correct tribal relationships established to everyone else in the camp. Most of those who are invited are known; but others come from far away (from Rose River, for instance, or from the south of Milingimbi), and it is necessary to determine their approximate relationship to others for the purpose of exchanging wives. This is done with much talk and discussion, comparing subsections, Dreaming affiliations, and so on. When a local man finds that a certain visitor is his classificatory brother, he will send his own younger brother to inform him that he may have the local man's wife for Kunapipi copulation; presents too are sent to the visitor, expressing goodwill. In return, the visitor sends a message that he will accept this arrangement, and that his own wife will come to the Kunapipi for ceremonial copulation with his local "brother"; he also sends presents. This is the normal procedure. But at times two men, without the aid of a third party, will decide between themselves to exchange wives; and occasionally, these days, a man may arrange matters with a visitor's wife (with whom he desires intercourse, or with whom he is
796 having a liaison) without the consent of her own husband.

835 This means that usually in the Kunapipi a man will copulate with his "long way" brother's wife, whom he calls *kalei* (wife), normally
[601] a classificatory mother's brother's daughter or mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, the daughter of her partner's *mukul* (mother's mother's brother's daughter). This, aborigines say, is the pattern for "the new generation", which differs from the traditional arrangement of the old people. In the old days (that is, prior to white
[602] contact in this and adjacent areas) it was customary for ceremonial

copulation to take place between two "cousins" (*mukul* and *gurung*). 796
who were normally tabu-ed relatives, formally unable to talk to one 835
another, and classified as mother-in-law and son-in-law.[10] That is, [602]
the sacredness of the occasion demanded that sexual intercourse take
place between individuals who were at other times tabu. Such coitus
would, on the sacred ground, be considered far more potent, from [842]
the point of view of fertility, than that between persons who were
classified as "husband" and "wife", were of different moieties, and
were comparatively easy of access even if not living together.

Coitus between *mukul* "cousins" at ceremonial periods was 796
termed *ngirimbu'njamari'gwu:wa*, loosely translated as "living with
one's cousin for *now* or to-day (that is, for a little while)". Their 835
coitus was said to result in "starting a baby in the female *mukul*"; 616
and this was later looked upon as belonging, spiritually at least, to
the male *mukul*. Both *mukul* would be of the same moiety; and the
child produced from such a union, which normally would be con-
sidered incestuous, would by taking the moiety of its father (for
descent of the moiety is patrilineal) also be taking that of its mother.
Recognition of the fact that a child would be born of this cere-
monial intercourse between two *mukul*, and the parentage acknow-
ledged, demonstrates one aspect of these people's knowledge of
physiological paternity.[11] The reason for the carrying out of incest-
uous intercourse on the sacred ground, for ceremonial purposes, is [773]
reflected in the Wauwalak mythology; for it will be recalled that the
elder Wauwalak sister had incestuous relations with a clansman (of
the same moiety) before coming to Muruwul, and as a result of this
intercourse, a child was born. But although the elder Wauwalak had
sexual relations with a man who was of the same moiety as herself,
the child apparently took not *dua*, its actual father's moiety, but
jiritja, as if it had had a *jiritja* father (*vide* Wauwalak myth, Chapter
III). "We do it", aborigines say, "because of that Wauwalak: that
is why two *mukul* copulate, and their child is acknowledged".

Usually, however, it seems that intercourse takes place between 796
a man and his classificatory brother's wife; but exceptions do occur 835
which may normally be considered incestuous or "wrong-way".
Even before the actual ceremonial intercourse takes place, as a
climax to the Kunapipi, copulation between Kunapipi partners

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[10] This ceremonial copulation with a *mukul* still occurs in the Rose River region. *Vide* Chapter V, which describes a drawing of this ritual.

[11] This, aborigines say, "happened in the old times, when the old people had this Kunapipi (suggesting that the Kunapipi was introduced at an early period); we changed from that. Now we only get the daughter of that *mukul*, but in the old time we should have got the *mukul*". But other information casts some doubt as to whether this practice of having ceremonial intercourse with a *mukul* took place only in the past. For example, it is said: "our old people married their *mukul* in the old days, and *now we do it* (that is, copulate) in the Kunapipi, in memory of those old times".

begins with surreptitious meetings at night in the nearby bush.
796 There may be more men than women attending the ceremony, and
835 it may so happen that one woman will have a number of Kunapipi
partners to whom she will go. Her husband realizes that this period
is charged with social effervescence, so that her indulgence is viewed
as a conventional expression, and as an important element in the
atmosphere of general goodwill. Some women, however, prefer to
wait until the last night, being emotionally excited, then, to an
abnormal degree. Prior to this final stage, there is general exchange
[832] of obscenities and erotic allusions between men and women, and
between the proposed Kunapipi partners.

Two or three nights before the finale the men return to the sacred
796 ground, and sitting around the fires begin to sing parts of the Kunapipi
535 cycle relating to ceremonial copulation. The women come into
786 the ground, some decorated with feathered string headbands. All
[301] women may attend, but only those decorated and ochred are "to
dance for coitus". Their special form of dancing is called *ngamamali*;
they dance before the singing men. They dance the bandicoot dance,
hitting their legs together to make a rhythmic sound that blends with
the song and the beating sticks.

Then the head Kunapipi woman, a tribal sister or father's sister of the male leader, dances forward, leading the other women[12] back towards the main camp. As they dance along they call out, in just the same way as the men in the *djunggawon* do when they enter the main camp. And like those men, the women too symbolize Julunggul moving towards the Wauwalak. Instead of calling it Julunggul or *gunduru* as the men do, the women call it Kitjin. "But it is the same Dreaming Snake, even though it is called by a different name: for the women call it Kitjin so that we (the men) won't know the real meaning." They turn away again from the main camp and return to the sacred ground, calling out their sacred term, Kitjin! Kitjin! and
warning the men: "Don't call this name, or watch us;[13] don't come
[778] close and see us, or your bellies will come up like pregnant women".
And the men sit down quietly, with heads bent, for they may not
look directly at the dancing women; the women are *mareiin* (sacred),
just like the dancers in a totemic ceremony.

[12] It is said that all these women are "big women", and none are young girls. No young boys are present, for the initiates are at one end of the ground "asleep", or covered up with paperbark or blankets; children are left in charge of the old women or young girls who have remained in the main camp.

This really means that the women attending the Kunapipi are married;
the young girls are those who are unmarried, betrothed, or who have not yet
[881] reached puberty. We are not discussing in this context ritual defloration of
young girls, as an adjunct of the Kunapipi, just prior to or on their attaining
[436] puberty.

[13] That is, the men cannot look straight at the dancing women, "we are frightened of the power they have". Actually, however, they do see them dancing forward.

The leader then erects two emblems, which she and her companion 796
have made secretly out in the bush. One is a post, consisting of paperbark
bound together with twine, and resembling a smaller undecor- 786
ated edition of the men's *jelmalandji*: this is the Kitjin or Julunggul 778
Snake. The other emblem is a pole, sometimes red-ochred and
decorated, which represents a stringy-bark tree. Both objects are
stood upright in the ground, some distance from the men, who are
said to be "like young boys being shown their first sacred ceremony".

Then, lifting up the Kitjin (or sometimes using another paperbark-bound object), the head woman hits the stringy-bark tree emblem, so that pieces of paperbark fly across the ground. This symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul while the Wauwalak were in their hut: the lightning "split" (that is, struck) a stringy-bark tree, and pieces of wood flew in every direction. It was from one of these pieces that the sacred bullroarer was made (*vide* Chapter III).

This procedure may vary in different areas, depending on the length of the Kunapipi. The women may perform their ritual further away from the men, but still near the sacred ground; and men may be forbidden to see their dancing, or the emblems they erect. After their own ceremony, they may then come on to the sacred ground and dance before the men. In some cases, too, this section is omitted.

Finishing their Kitjin dancing, they return to the *ngamamali*, and 796
form a dancing line before the men, who now look up and begin to
sing. While the women dance, various men stand up and walk over 786
to their Kunapipi partners, and hand them presents of food, string 835
or ochre; a woman will keep some of this herself, but may pass some
on to her husband. It is at this time too that much joking takes place,
and the bolder of the women (those who have gone through the
Kunapipi before) make obscene gestures, holding open their labia [832]
majora, slapping their thighs, or taking up a piece of stick and holding
it erect like a man's penis and moving it up and down as in coitus.
When the dancing is over, the men and women return to the camp,
while some copulate[14] on their way back; although they should not
have coitus until the last night, it is generally recognized that this
does occur after such erotic dancing.

[14] At Yirrkalla no special position is preferred during the act; this depends principally [833]
on the couple concerned. However, the usual positions taken, in the
Kunapipi rite, are as follows: A woman lies full length on the ground with her legs apart; her partner lies between them and directly upon her, holding her around the neck, while she clasps her hands at his back. Or the woman may sit on the ground, well back on her buttocks, the trunk of her body leaning back supported on her arms. Her legs are flexed and open; the man puts his legs under her and his hands around her, so that his penis enters further and their genitalia are closer together than if he lay upon her.

Vide Chapter V, where the special position taken in coitus on the sacred ground is mentioned and reproduced in a native drawing.

In some regions, as along the Roper River, there is the belief that a man's body may not touch the woman's during coitus. During the act he suspends

796 786 835 On the final night, the Kitjin and the *ngamamali* dancing are repeated. The Kunapipi partners are ochred and heavily greased. The men sing and the women dance. As the singing and dancing continue, a man will rise and go over to his partner, take her by the arm, and lead her into the bush for sexual intercourse. One by one the men stand and take their partners into the surrounding shadows; and since there are usually fewer women than men, some women may have coitus a number of times. Men too may, if they choose, have coitus more than once during the night, either with the same partner, or with another woman whose husband has already been [431] approached, and presents exchanged. Women, at this time, stimulated by days of anticipation, take a special pride in the number of men who copulate with them. After a man has had sexual inter- [783] course with a woman, her husband comes to him and rubs his sweat on the man's legs and arms, so that he will not become ill from this ritual behaviour.

796 786 345 837 There are several variations in the above pattern of ceremonial copulation, and we mention the two most important. While the dancing is in progress, the Kunapipi sexual partners may retire to a specially constructed shade or hut (which is the *murlk* of the Wauwalak) and have coitus. The woman either remains in the hut to receive other men, or returns to the dancing. Should there be more men than women at the ceremony, the woman will most likely remain in the hut for the evening, accepting one man after another. In this case, there may be several "huts" or windbreaks near the sacred ground, each woman taking possession of one. (Not all the female dancers retire to these huts; as mentioned, there are some who do not have partners.) This conforms more to the pattern of ceremonial copulation in the Roper River Kunapipi.

796 786 837 The second variation is in the manner of ceremonial copulation (the *ka'rangara*) throughout central-western Northern Territory. After the dancing, the women form two rows, according to their moieties, on the sacred ground; they are slightly apart from, though alongside each other. All lie down and assume a position ready for coitus. Their male partners dance forward and take positions before one line of women, while on the opposite side another row of men dances into the ground and stands in front of the other line. The men have their backs to one another, and their two rows are between the two rows of women; this arrangement prevents husbands from watching their wives. Then the men begin to have intercourse, some awaiting their turn. When a man has finished he goes to one side

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[833] himself above the woman, or inserts paper-bark between their bodies. It is said that the sweat of the woman is possessed of great potency which, if transferred to the man, will cause him harm (that is, affect the specific sacredness of the act). However, this is not found in the north-eastern Arnhem Land area.

of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796
Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recog- 786
nized as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area.

A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations 837
of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank atti-
tude towards the question of sexual relations, and their under-
standing of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predeter-
mines their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content
of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the pre-
coitus dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, [832]
caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that
man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner
will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness. [753]

The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with
clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this cere- [773]
monial copulation.[15] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the
symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency [789]
to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of
"danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives
and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one
another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with [835]
tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under
the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother.
The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to
"raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the
older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the
ngu:rlmak, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung
rituals.

* * * *

On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796
Kunapipi ceremonies is performed.

Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 881
ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned 778
to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their
guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over
one another from their mouths; and most have spears. They begin [302]
to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each
other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture,
and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's
dancing continues till sunrise, when the two moiety groups dance [535]
down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main [616]
camp, taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompani-
ment of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

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[15] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

● 796 481 778 *djepalmandji* (this is a central-western Northern Territory term; the variations used at Yirrkalla are *djapalmani* or *djapanban*). Two forked posts are placed upright in the ground about six feet apart, and a thick connecting ridge pole, about four feet from the ground, placed between them, resting on the forks. This pole is hung with branches, so that the space between it and the ground is thickly covered.

Two *jiritja* snake men (mentioned before) climb on to the forked posts; each takes up his position, sitting within the fork, facing the other. The young initiates are then placed under the bushes of the *djepalmandji*, so that they are completely covered and hidden from outside view; they hold on to the ridge pole with their hands, their feet on the ground, for they are supposed to be hanging from the pole. The two *jiritja* men then begin to call out in the ritual manner known as *djangatun'jiritjiana*, moving the palms of their hands against their mouths; they are calling out for all the men and women to come to the *djepalmandji*.

The *djepalmandji* forked sticks signify not only the Kunapipi but the sacred *ngu:rlmak*, for they represent the *murlk* hut built by the Wauwalak; the initiates are put inside, like the Two Sisters. But they have also another important meaning. The two *jiritja* men (*jiritja* totemic snakes) who sit in the forks "are really the babies (although only one baby is mentioned in the Wauwalak myth)[16] of the Wauwalak". They sit in the fork, which symbolizes the uterus of the Wauwalak, and cry ritually in the same way that a child cries when issuing at birth from its mother's womb. This is one of the most important points in this terminating series of rituals; for here, symbolically expressed, is the enactment of childbirth, a crystallization of Kunapipi intent. The meaning is the same as that of the *djepalmandji* forked stick of central-western Northern Territory, which is there described as the Mother's uterus, in which a "baby" rests.

Under the cover of branches and brush, below the *djepalmandji*, are the young initiates who have passed through all the main Kunapipi ceremonies; they lie passive in the uterus (or uteri) of the Wauwalak. Soon they will be coming out, and will be spiritually re-born (that is, "their spirit comes out new"), just as the Wauwalak child was born.

The cries of the two *jiritja* men in the forks of the *djepalmandji* have summoned the women in the camp, and they make ready to come towards the place where the young boys are hidden. Behind them, within the shelter of the surrounding bush, the bullroarers are swung, "pushing along" the women and children: they are smeared

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[16] That is, each man represents the child of the elder Wauwalak sister. L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 251, mentioned in his Milingimbi version of the same myth that each sister had a child. It will be remembered that this feature did not appear in the Yirrkalla version.

with red ochre, and dance along in the same way as did the Wauwalak 796
sisters. They reach and surround the *djepalmandji*, calling in answer
to the sound of the bullroarers; all the male dancers are hidden 881
about forty yards away in the bush. The women then leave the 778
djepalmandji and sit in a bunch some few yards distant. The sound of the bullroarers continues, and the two *jiritja* men in the forked sticks cry out. All the women and children lie down, and are covered with *barakala* bark and *ngainmara* mats. When they have all settled down, the Kunapipi headman calls out for the male dancers, who enter the ground dancing in single file and calling out *wa ! wa ! wa !* This is the call of the *dua matju* flying fox; it is used theoretically to "trick" the women into thinking that something else is meant, "but really the cry belongs to the two Wauwalak sisters; for they cried out *kei'wa ! kei'wa ! kei'wa !* when they were frightened of Julunggul coming towards their camp". That is to say, the cry *kei'wa !* is used only by women, and men cannot use it. As one informant said, "we can't yell out like women, or we might have to change our business (sacred ritual) for women's business, and they would take over ours. So we make ourselves flying fox, and then change the cry to *wa !* but all the same it is the Two Sisters crying out".

"What side is this?" the women are said to wonder, covered with their *ngainmara*: "Flying fox side?" "But," the men continue, "they can't get the meaning of what we do." (This, of course, is a peculiarly male attitude.)

The same men add, "But really we have been stealing what belongs 796
to them (the women), for it is mostly all woman's business; and since
it concerns them it belongs to them. Men have nothing to do really, 881
except copulate, it belongs to the women. All that belonging to those 562
Wauwalak, the baby, the blood, the yelling, their dancing, all that concerns the women; but every time we have to trick them. Women can't see what men are doing, although it really is their own business, but we can see their side. This is because all the Dreaming business came out of women—everything; only men take 'picture' for that Julunggul. In the beginning we had nothing, because men had been doing nothing; we took these things from the women". This latter is a particularly interesting statement, reiterated in the Djanggawul Myth cycle, which stresses peculiarly female attainments: the power of reproduction, and the phenomenon of menstruation.

The dancing men run forward, cry out, and run forward again 796
until they reach the *djepalmandji*; then they surround it, and the
covered women and children. The two *jiritja* men in the forks cry 881
out "like that Wauwalak child, to awaken the two sisters in their 778
hut" (that is, the cry is supposed to awaken the women who are covered with the *ngainmara*). The men all carry spears and dance around the women, prodding them lightly with the shafts, so that they "awaken" and sit up, and look towards the *djepalmandji*. They

796 see the young initiates coming out of the bushes, emerging from the
uterus, all covered with red-ochre that symbolizes "the spring blood
881 of the Wauwalak". And the men call out to the women saying, "See
778 those young men covered with the saliva of that Snake"; "but really,"
and the women are not officially supposed to know this, "they are
covered with the spring blood". The women begin to call out, and
return dancing to the main camp.

The *djepalmandji* are knocked down, and the young boys are taken to the men's camp. That night, "outside" Kunapipi songs are sung, and the men dance around the boys. Then with the men leading, and the initiates following, they all dance off in single file to the sacred ground.

Here the initiates' headbands are removed, and returned to the
Kunapipi leader for use in the next rituals. After some sacred sing-
[302] ing, all the men, together with the young boys, paint themselves
completely with red-ochre; at the same time, in the main camp, all
the other men, women and children, whether *dua* or *jiritja*, do like-
wise. On everyone's back is outlined the Julunggul Snake, "so that
[532] you can't see it". (The snake design is merged with the general red-
ochring, so that only a bare outline is visible.) This design is some-
times extended across the chest or breasts, from left to right, to join
the main snake pattern on the back; "in the beginning those Wau-
walak did this, because of that big Julunggul". This painting is
termed the "baptizing" (that is, ceremonial purification), and all are
brushed with smoking ironwood branches which have been held in
the fire.

The men return from the sacred ground to the main camp, and sitting in groups begin to sing the "outside" Kunapipi, while the women dance in the same way as they did during the first rituals. The young initiates return that evening to the single men's camp. The purification ceremony and singing may be held on succeeding evenings for about a week to a fortnight, when it is felt that sufficient precautions have been taken to prevent sickness.

This concludes the Yirrkalla Kunapipi ritual.

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773 Although we shall return in succeeding chapters to the ritual and
796 interpretation of the Kunapipi, it may be as well, at this juncture, to
survey briefly the foregoing material. It is apparent that Kunapipi
794 ritual has been closely related to the Wauwalak mythology; this
expresses symbolically the aborigines' conception of an "eternal"
[805] sequence of the seasons, and the reproductive faculties of Nature, of
which man is an incidental but dominating feature. This fundamental
[776] belief is crystallized in a Fertility Mother (the Wauwalak as a trans-
mutation of the Djanggawul) who embodies this concept, while the
male representative of fructification also is present.

The following Table summarizes these aspects.

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TABLE

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		Materialistic Aspect of Yirrkalla Religion	Spiritual Aspect of Yirrkalla Religion
Fundamental Aspects		Nature; Seasons; Vegetable and animal growth; reproductive faculties of man; survival of the group; basic drives (for example, food and sex)	
Repositories of Divine Power		Djanggawul; the Wauwalak. (Concept of Fertility, Mother and Penis Snake): alone capable of releasing the power which brings about continuation	Unquestioning faith
Expressions and Instruments	**Mythology**	Djanggawul and Wauwalak Cycles (explaining the power of the "Divine" Beings)	Ideology, Religious philosophy and meditation
	Ritual	Sacred ritual and ceremony (of which the Kunapipi is merely one aspect). An instrument by which the "divine" power is released	Absorption in ritual as a "divine" purpose (spiritual edification)
Achievement		Production of necessities for physical continuance and survival. (Maintenance of *status quo*)	Spiritual growth. (Laws and ideals based on the behaviour of the "divine" Beings)

Here we observe the belief that ritual, as an expression of the 773
sacred mythology, releases the "power" vested in the Divine Ances- 796
tral Beings for the ultimate welfare of the tribal group. This is pri-
marily a materialistic aim, for its specific intent is the production of 789
necessities for the physical continuation and survival of the people, 794
the bringing into force of an elaborate mechanism that expresses man's innate selfishness and egocentricity. But as an adjunct to this thesis, Yirrkalla religion has an underlying non-materialistic thread, that is an expression of spiritual growth. Based as it is on an unquestioning acceptance of the religious doctrine, a belief in the omnipo-

773 tence and immutability of the "eternal" Beings, a religious philos-
796 ophy has been developed among the mature "thinkers" of the group.
796 This finds its outlet in the mental exercise of meditation, interpre-
789 tation, and explanation, but is nevertheless restricted by the deep
794 faith that is a living part of all its manifestations. Within the limita-
tion of defined premises, a certain degree of flexibility is apparent;
philosophic concepts have not remained static, nor ideology stag-
nant. Throughout the centuries of religious development, alien ideas
[177] have been considered and discussed, even when they were unortho-
dox, and apparently opposed to indigenous theology. They have been
accepted or discarded; but all have, in this way, served to illuminate
and extend the basic principles which serve to explain to the abori-
gines man's place in his environment, and his inter-relationship with
the "Divine" Beings who are possessed of the power of animation
and are the seat of knowledge.

796 Several interesting points are raised in our description of Kunapipi ritual.

In all Kunapipi ceremonies, throughout the whole region men-
tioned in Chapter II, basic words referring to the sacred objects,
ceremonies, and so on, are very much the same; for instance,
[184] *nanggaru*, *kanala*, *jelmalandji*, *djamala*, *gumagu*, and *djepalmandji*.
These terms serve as a connecting link, for their meanings do not
change drastically from one area to another, even when, as at Yirr-
kalla, the Kunapipi ritual itself has been superimposed on a rela-
tively indigenous theme. The dominating theory behind the Kunapipi
has preserved, more or less intact, its original intent.

Another outstanding aspect is the important rôle undertaken by
562 women throughout the performance of the Kunapipi ceremonies.
796 At no time do they feel themselves secluded from purely male
activity, while at intervals they take an active part. They know that
the rituals are principally concerned with peculiarly feminine func-
ions, and that men are carrying out the more strenuous features of
ceremonial life. "These rituals," said one informant, "are just like a
man copulating with a woman, he does all the hard working so that
the woman can carry out the really important business of child-
birth." This may be a one-sided attitude, but it does adequately
express local native reasoning in this matter. The question of
whether women are profane, as opposed to the aura of sacredness
pervading a male participant at such a ceremony, does not enter into
Yirrkalla thinking. Even when ritually tabu because of afterbirth or
[841] menstruation blood (as in the case of the Wauwalak at the sacred
Muruwul billabong), a woman is regarded as sacred, for her blood
and her other activities themselves are sacred, and are focal points
in the religious doctrine. And all sacred ceremony, these aborigines
[773] say, was inspired by women. "In the beginning men had nothing, and
women possessed all the ritual; so men stole this from the women
..."—(Djanggawul and Wauwalak mythology).

. . ." — (Djanggawul and Wauwalak mythology). In any case, a cult 562
such as the Kunapipi, which stresses fertility and reproduction, could 796
not exclude women; as is normal in these matters, a certain sphere
of ceremonial activity is allotted to each sex, while the women realize 794
the important part played by their divine counterpart, the Wauwalak.

In the Kunapipi, however, women enter the sacred ground of the men; this is a feature that rarely occurs in the ceremonies associated with other cults. Upon entering the ground, the women themselves become more definitely *mareiin* (sacred); "they take over from the men, and dance before them as if the men were only novices being introduced to their first sacred rituals". They re-enact something of what they themselves initially possessed in the mythological period, and what was stolen by the men. They use the sacred symbol of Julunggul, and the tree that was split by his lightning, and through their actions they represent the origin of the men's sacred bullroarer which no woman is supposed to see. They dance the ritual of the great Python, "and the men hang their heads in fear".[17]

On the termination of this ceremony, the women dance the lewd bandicoot dance on the sacred ground before the men, expressing symbolically the basic intent of the Kunapipi. They are stimulating both themselves and the men in order to carry out sexual intercourse, for copulation is the means by which fertility is achieved.

This brings us to an aspect that cannot be considegred in detail 794
here; that is, the problem of religious sexuality.[18] By this we mean 796
the degree in which sex, as a stimulatory factor, enters into Kunapipi
ritual. In most sacred aboriginal cult life, where sexual subjects are 831
dealt with frankly and freely, there is no suggestion of actual individual stimulation, or of arousing the sexual inclinations of the participants: the ritual merely re-enacts some specific aspect of mythology which is related to erotic activity or coitus, and which is necessary for its effective completion, and for achieving the desired intent. The actors only carry out the symbolism associated with sexual activity. The arousing of sexual desire by sacred acting of this type would project into it a profane and irreligious content that
would immediately detract from its real intent. Allowance for sexual
stimulation by dancing, acting and singing has been made in the case [832]
of love magic ritual, or of collective male and female secular ceremonies [786]
that heighten sexual feelings and permit licence.

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[17] This ceremony held by the women is similar to their secret magico-religious
rituals in central-western Northern Territory. It is one aspect of the *tjurada*, [184]
which has its sacred and secular expressions. From these secret rituals of the
women, men are traditionally, and in present practice, excluded. *Vide* C. H. [113]
Berndt, *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme,
Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Geographie et de Linguistique, I, Paris, 1950, pp. 1-85, text figs. See particularly Chapter V.

[18] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section XII.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951

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794 796 832 In the Kunapipi, however, a certain degree of sexual stimulation does occur, and is apparently sanctified, although it does not detract from the underlying religious content of the ritual. Sexual expression in the Kunapipi is conventionalized, and individual inclinations are channelized according to recognized standards and rules. There is no suggestion of an uncontrolled orgy; men and women, prior to and during ceremonial copulation, are stimulated to an inordinate degree, but they find an outlet for this in coitus with defined Kunapipi partners. Furthermore, this is not idle sensuality, catering merely for individual pleasure. And although this aspect is found outside the sacred ground in the Kunapipi ceremonial period, during intercourse between men and women who may or may not be Kunapipi partners, the sexual act is in this case unrelated to ritual or ceremony and is simply secular. On the sacred ground, between Kunapipi partners, the sexual act assumes sanctity: the participants are invested with a sacred aura, while the act itself is ritualized and substantiated by the religious doctrine. The act of coitus is carried out for a specific purpose; and individual pleasure, whether present or not, is incidental.

CHAPTER V

KUNAPIPI RITUAL IN DRAWING

In order to understand more fully certain parts of the Kunapipi ritual that have been already outlined, a series of interpretative drawings was obtained from aborigines. Each of these depicts in conventionalized form some aspects of the Kunapipi, and includes some points which the artist considered to be of major importance in understanding the function of the rituals. The six drawings illustrated and described here cover the main points of the Kunapipi ceremony. 532 796

Ceremonial elders and headmen at Yirrkalla delegated a middle-aged man, named Gumuk,[1] a Kunapipi leader, to prepare the following series of drawings on Kunapipi ritual. [624] It is not the practice of these people to record their ceremonies in this way; normally, to demonstrate or expound some particular point, they would enact the ceremony instead of drawing it; neither would they attempt to draw such incidents on stringy-bark, the usual medium for expressing sacred or secular design and representation. The medium employed in these drawings was entirely foreign to the artist, who is accustomed to working in ochres with hair or root brushes, on a bark board; [126] but, in this case, sheets of brown paper and coloured lumber crayons were adopted for convenience. It was not long before the native artists had adjusted themselves to this method of expression, and produced what we may term masterpieces, equal to the best of the bark-drawing which is their traditional form of art.[2]

Their value as artistic representations of this particular culture is incidental here to their value as documents illustrating the Kunapipi rituals. Through them we may see with a native's eyes what the people as a group, through the individual artist, consider important in this respect.

Photographs of ritual and ceremony record accurately specific incidents divorced to some extent from the whole; they are in themselves impersonal. But drawings of the same or similar incidents, by

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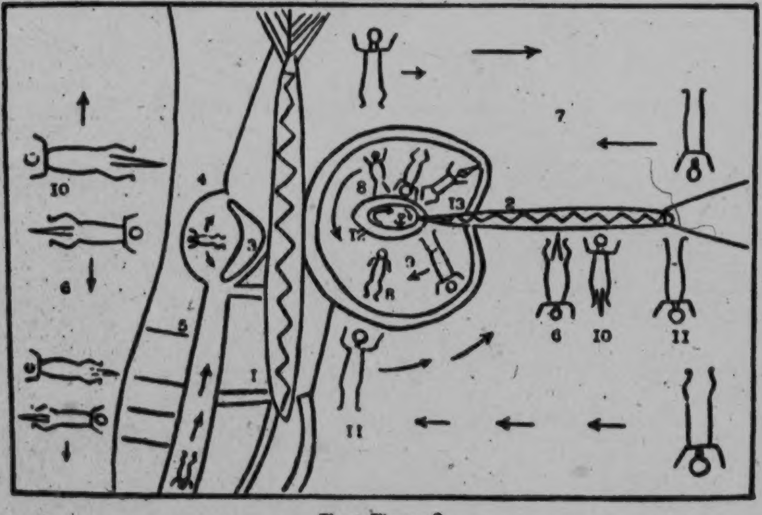
[1] *Vide* Chapter VI, where some of his dreams are discussed.

[2] Collections of both bark and brown paper drawings are at present housed in the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, for the Australian National Research Council.

For discussion of bark painting, see *Art in Arnhem Land*, by A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, pp. 61-83

532 796 aborigines belonging to the culture from which the ritual has sprung or in which it finds expression, reveal a depth of feeling and understanding which cannot be reconstructed through any other medium. Photographs, with all their accurate detail, cannot record the ritual with the same wealth of meaning as that contained in a native's drawing of this kind: and their anthropological value must not be underestimated. Observational recording through photography is valuable and necessary, but it lacks the ability of indigenous drawing to make its subject matter personal, vivid and sympathetic.

To describe in some detail each drawing illustrated here, rough sketches have been reproduced; the main outline of each corresponds to the original, so that the numbered sections may readily be traced in sequence, from text to rough sketch and so to reproduction of the original drawing illustrated. This was considered preferable to numbering the various parts of the original drawings.



Text Figure 2.

Key Sketch to Illustrate Plate XI.
Postulants and novices in a ritual performance on the sacred Kunapipi ground.

532 796 881 The first drawing,[3] illustrated in Plate XI and text figure 2, in red, black, green, blue and yellow crayon, white chalk and pencil, presents postulants and novices in a ritual performance on the sacred Kunapipi ground. 1 is the *durlpa* snake *jelmalandji* emblem, which is sometimes said to be both the Julunggul python and the pandanus tree; 2 is the *gundaru* Lighting Snake *jelmalandji*, which is the

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[3] Reference: No. 1, Series B, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series A, R. Berndt.

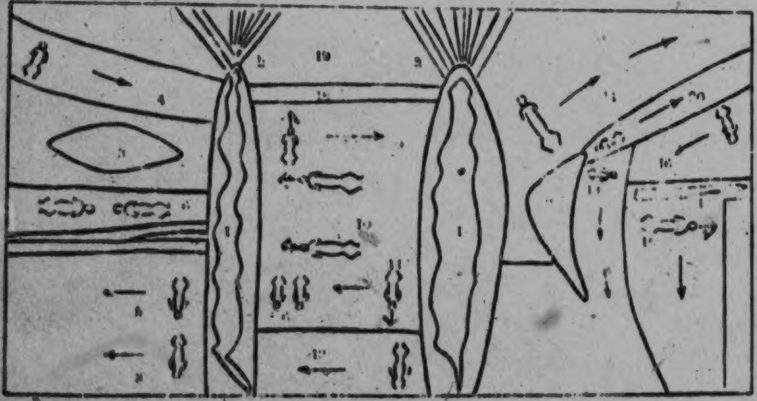
Julunggul; both are topped with feathered ornaments. The *gundaru* 532 *jelmalandji* arises from the *nanggaru* place (9), while the *darlpa* 796 *jelmalandji* arises some little distance away, between the *nanggaru* 881 and the *kanala* (3): in actual practice, both would stand together beside either the *nanggaru* or the *kanala*. On the concave side of the *kanala* (3) are ranged *jiritja* moiety *wari* novices (4) for the Kunapipi, while along the track leading to the *kanala* are *muru dua* moiety novices (5): they do not yet enter the crescent trench.

Parallel to the *kanala*, and to one side of the *nanggaru*, are *dua* dancing postulants (6) representing opossums. This is the important Kunapipi opossum dancing; men with long paperbark penes (10) attached to their waist-bands, or constructed upon their own penes, are male opossums; the others are the females (11). In the dancing they simulate sexual intercourse, erecting their bark penes, and so on.

On the opposite side of the *nanggaru* are *jiritja* moiety *keiango:r* men (7) who watch the erecting of the *jelmalandji*. This is the group [616] that prepared these emblems for the *dua* moiety (6).

Within the *nanggaru* (9), the opossum actors (6) are seen dancing, having gradually moved up along the sacred ground and entered the "billabong" (12). Then they emerge from the *nanggaru* and encircle it (8); they begin to cover it in with their dancing feet, destroying it completely. One dancing opossum actor (13) wears a conical- [292] shaped head-dress topped with feathers, as should all the other participants.

The second drawing,[4] Plate I and text figure 3, in red, blue,



Text Figure 3.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate I.

Opossum dancing on the sacred ground, with destruction of the Snake Emblems.

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[4] Reference: No. 109, *Field Notes*, Book 18, Series A, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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[facing p. 64]

PLATE VI

[For caption see category 116, p. xi]

532 yellow, black and green crayon, concerns the final opossum danc-
881 ing, and the destroying of the *jelmalandji* emblems.
796 One *jelmalandji* (1 *a*) is the *gundaru*, and the other (1 *b*) the *darlpa*,
each topped with feathers. The non-sacred term for the *gundaru jelmalandji* is *nungganambi*, and for the *darlpa jelmalandji*, *murungun* or *dalara*, both of which may be used before women and children in the main camp: to use the term *jelmalandji* in a secular environment would bring sickness on the speaker. To the right of the *gundaru* is the *kanala* (2) crescent trench; to the left of the *darlpa* is the *nanggaru*, (3), and on one side of this a row of *wari jiritja* novices (4) make their appearance, wearing *murapipi* headbands: they watch two actors (6) on the opposite side of the *nanggaru*, performing the *dua* moiety *gundaru* snake dance (of the male and female Julunggul Snakes). While the two actors dance, the *jiritja* bullroarer (7) is swung behind them; below it are the *muru dua* novices (5); and below these, in a line, are the "big" men (8) who act as guardians to the novices, and take them to the Kunapipi dancing. These guardians are very strict, and may beat the novices in their charge should they misbehave.

Between the two *jelmalandji* is a row of dancing postulants (9),
[292] representing the *gulwiri* "cabbage" or "wild coconut" palm, which
swayed in the running waters at Muruwul (*vide* Chapter III). The actors wear elaborate head-dresses that symbolize this tree, and later they dance towards the *murlk* hut (19) of the two Wauwalak sisters. Opposite this row of dancers is another row (11), also representing the *gulwiri* palm. Between them (10) lie two other *gulwiri* dancers performing a ritual dance: they enter the ground kneeling, and lie upon one another "like the roots and trunks of these trees", entwined and rubbing together with the force of the running water. These two central actors, as well as the others, are watched by the *wari* and *muru* novices, who have been brought up to take another position facing the dancing ground. Two novices (6) are beside the *gulwiri* actors (11), while the others are ranged in a row below (12).

Above the track leading to the *kanala* (2) and on its concave side are ranged *muru* and *wari* novices (13), taking their positions for viewing the final opossum dancing and the *jelmalandji*. To one side (14) are their guardians; the novices (16) below the *kanala* track are standing with their hands tucked under their arms.

On the concave side of the *kanala*, beyond the novices (13), is a row of dancing men performing the *gunga* pandanus dance, with head-dresses similar to those used in the *gulwiri*. When this is completed, other neophytes begin to dance down the *kanala* track (20): they are opossums, and this track is also called the "opossum track".

The *jelmalandji* are pushed and fall over across the *kanala*; but they are caught with the stick (18), and impelled back, so that they

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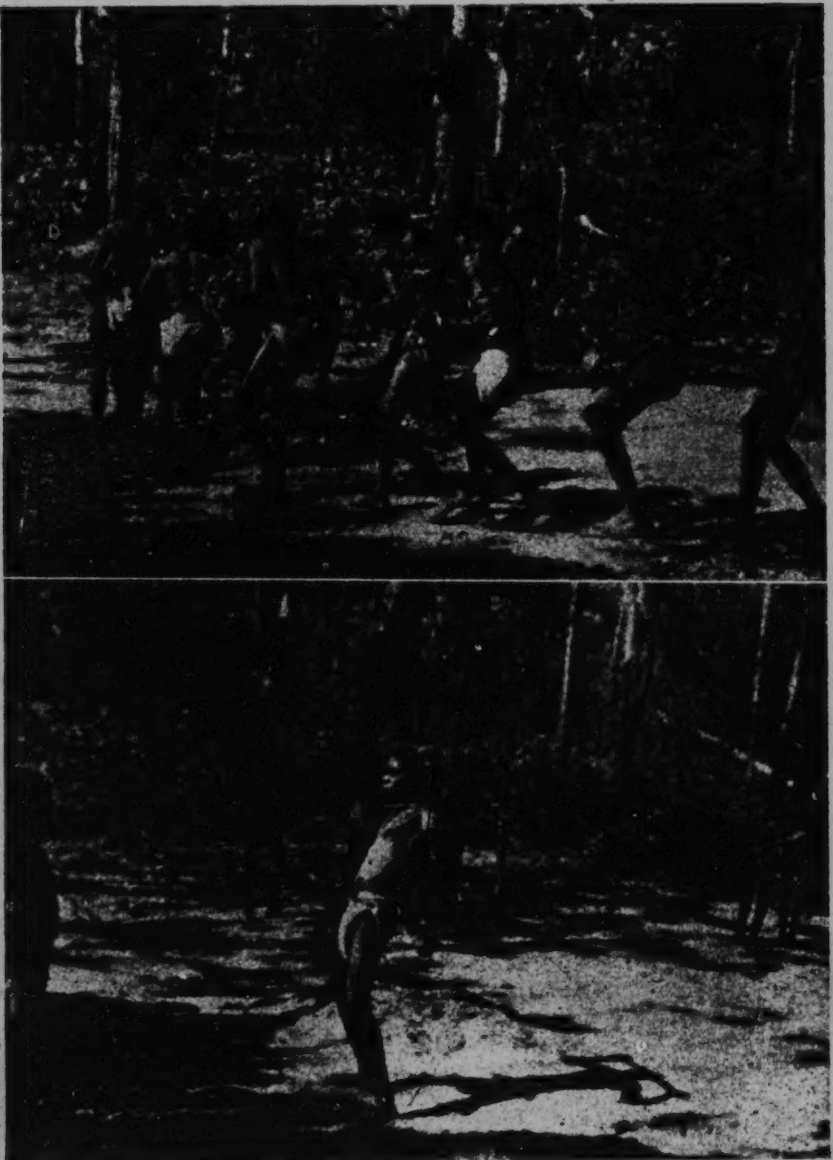


PLATE VII

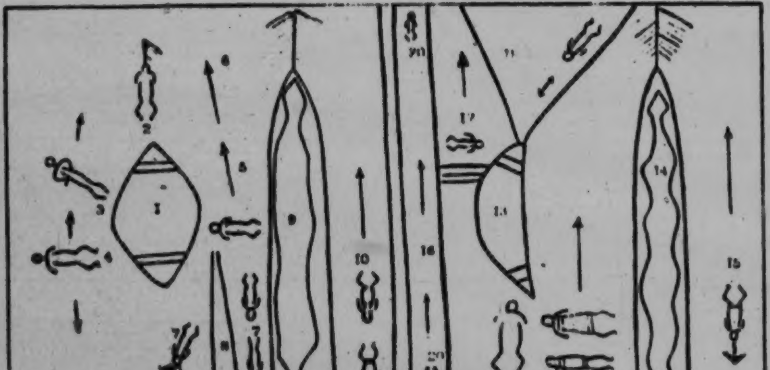
[facing p. 65]

[For captions see category 116, p. xi]

stand upright. This enacts the part of the myth relating how the 532
Julunggul fall backwards because they have swallowed the Wau- 796
walak (*vide* Chapter III): each time they fall, the postulants cry out.
"The Wauwalak make them fall, but they are strong and erect them- 881
selves again." Finally, however, they fall back into the *kanala*. This is not yet the final ceremony, so the *jelmalandji* are taken by two *jiritja* men and hidden for use in subsequent ritual. Normally, the pushing over of the *jelmalandji* should be followed by the fire-throwing ritual and their subsequent burning: after this the opossum dancers (20) should dance around the *kanala*, filling it in with the action of their feet, destroying the encircling mound, and thus covering the *jelmalandji*.

As the neophytes and novices leave the *kanala* the bullroarer (17) [534]
is swung, with answering calls from the main camp.

The third drawing,[5] Plate XII and text figure 4, in red, yellow, green, blue, black and white crayon, repeats some of the above and continues the ceremony to its final stage; but some essential ritual is omitted here (such as ceremonial coitus, which is dealt with separately).



Text Figure 4.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XII.

Sacred dancing on the Kunapipi ground.

On the left of the drawing is the *nanggaru* (1): above (2), is the *dua mo:gol* Ka'lerika'lering (*vide* Chapter IV *et seq.*) wearing a

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[5] Reference: No. 134, *Field-Notes*, Book 19, Series B, R. Berndt.

532 conical head-dress, called *watamunu* or *dutji*, topped with feathers.
981 He is dancing for the spirits of the Wauwalak who have been swallowed by Julunggul. Although the artist has projected this mythologi-
796 cal Being on to the sacred ground, this represents really a *dua*
neophyte taking the part of this Spirit in the Kunapipi dancing. On one side of this actor are two men (3) who are also Ka'lerika'lering; one has a boomerang, and both shake green branches as they dance.

Below the Ka'lerika'lering, on one side of the *nanggaru*, are the *wari* novices (4); while the *muru* novices (5) are on the opposite side. Above them are the *kakawar jiritja* postulants (6); these are older youths and men, visiting strangers from various clans, who have not yet seen the Kunapipi and are being admitted as "advanced novices".

On one side of the *darlpa* (or *dalara*) *jelmalandji* (9), are men (7) performing the pandanus dance, which is shown for the first time to the *wari*, *muru* and *kakawar*. As they dance, the bullroarer (8) is swung.

The *kakawar* (6) now move over to the opposite side of the *jelmalandji* (9) and form a row (10) under the direction of a headman (11), who rhythmically beats his sticks. The row of men move anticlockwise, in a form of dancing called *wokwaijin*, around the *kanala* (13); the same men, with their leader (12), are again seen on the concave side of the *kanala*, before their entry into the crescent trench.

Opposite the *kanala* is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (14), with a row of men (15) performing the "cabbage" palm dancing. On the convex side of the *kanala* are the novices (17) observing the ritual dancing, while opossum men (18) dance down the track leading to the *kanala*, in order to encircle it and cover it up. Below the *kanala* is a postulant (19) performing the final dance on the sacred ground, before leaving for the fringe of the main camp. He represents the Blue-tongued Lizard (*djamalingu* or *gumaling*), and dances by himself.

The artist then depicts, in the centre of his drawing, a row of novices (4, 5, and 6) who are under the "shade" or branches of the *djepalmandji* (16); at each end, in the forked sticks, sit the *jiritja* guardians (20) calling out. This takes place on the fringe of the main camp, away from the sacred ground, and shows the novices getting ready just before the women arrive.

The fourth drawing,[6] Plate XVII and text figure 5, in green, red, black, thick pencil sketches of human figures, on a yellow back-

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[6] Reference: No. 2, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

ground, is principally concerned with ceremonial intercourse, an 532
integral part of the Kunapipi, taking place on the sacred ground. 796
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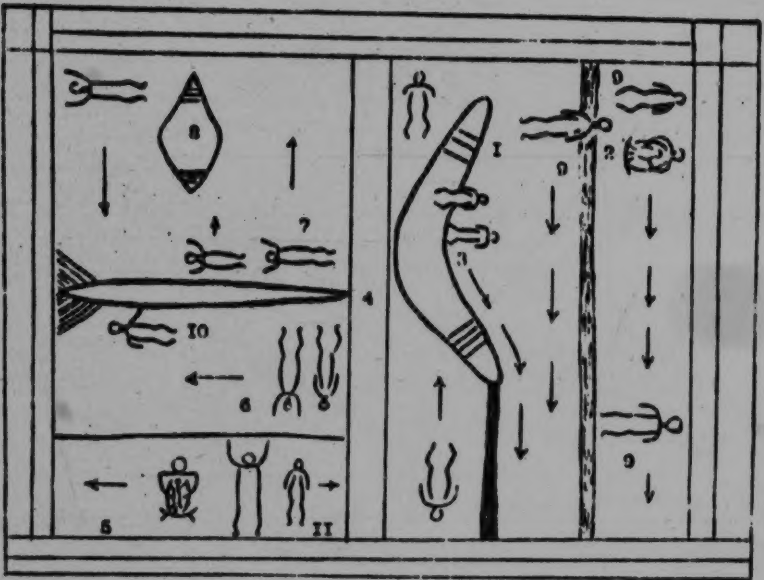

Text Figure 5.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XVII.

Ceremonial intercourse on the sacred ground.

On the right hand side of this drawing is the *jilparindji* or *kalawal* 532
boomerang (1); it occupies the place of the *kanala* in the drawing 796
and is drawn in much the same way. (This particular aspect requires
further attention, but cannot be elaborated here.) It is this boomerang 881
(usually designed a little differently, with a groove at the centre) 833
which is used in ritual defloration on the Kunapipi ground, before
ceremonial coitus. That is to say, young girls have their hymens [304]
pierced prior to intercourse on the ceremonial ground; others,
whose hymens have already been broken through normal pre- [836]
marital coitus, have the end of the boomerang placed symbolically
in the vagina. In the Rose River region, this form of defloration is a [171]
counterpart of the subincision rite, and neither takes place in the
north-eastern part of Arnhem Land. In the long *jiritja* Rose River
Love Song cycle, known at Yirrkalla, defloration and ritual copula-

537 tion are discussed in detail: this aspect will, however, be dealt with
796 later.[7]

833 Here we are concerned principally with sexual intercourse on the
sacred ground, and defloration is incidental; but it does have an
881 important bearing on Kunapipi mythology. (*Vide* Chapter X, Song
[773] 45, when it is mentioned that the Mungamunga were "opened" for
coitus; the ritual in the Rose River Kunapipi commemorates this
[171] mythological event, while other examples could be taken from Yirrkalla mythology to substantiate this rite of defloration.)

On the far right hand side of the drawing are male *gurung* having coitus with their normally tabu-ed female *mukul* (*vide* Chapter IV), as Kunapipi sexual partners (2), while other men (9) await their turn. It is these men who first "open up" the young girls with the boomerang, and then copulate with them. This rite is termed the *nukanmiri*. The drawing of the man and woman performing the sexual act is executed in the stylized traditional manner, so that the two figures merge (2): the man bends forward, grasping his partner at the back so that his arms pass under hers, while the woman clasps him with hands gripped at his back. She is lying on the ground with legs apart, her thighs resting on his hips, and her feet are crossed at his back; *vide* Chapter IV. footnote 14.

Ranged along and around the boomerang (1) are the brothers (3) of the girls and women with whom the men are copulating; they stand with their backs turned. They do not look at their sisters hav-
[593] ing coitus, in case they should be "shamed" (a manifestation of the
deep-rooted local tabu between brother and sister). Instead, they sing while this is taking place, and do not themselves have ceremonial intercourse; their turn comes when the next Kunapipi is performed.

A focal point on the left hand side of the drawing is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (4), held by one man (10), while below it is a row of men (6) who are actual or classificatory husbands to the women having coitus on the opposite section (that is, 2). These husbands (like those at 9) await their turn with women (5) who are the "wives" (actual or otherwise) of the men on the opposite side (9); these women are already having coitus (5), and beside them (11) other men are waiting. Around the *nanggaru* (8) are men (7) dancing the opossum dance: they are the fathers (actual or classificatory) of both groups of women (at 5 and 2).

The fifth drawing,[8] Plate XIII and text figure 6, in black, red, green, blue, yellow and pencil, shows the sacred ground, with its essential emblems and plan: women are awaiting ceremonial intercourse, while there is no mention of defloration (which, as we have said, is not a feature of every Kunapipi).

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[7] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. In Chapter IV it was mentioned that only married women attended the Kunapipi ritual of ceremonial copulation; this was a Yirrkalla variant.

[8] Reference: No. 3, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

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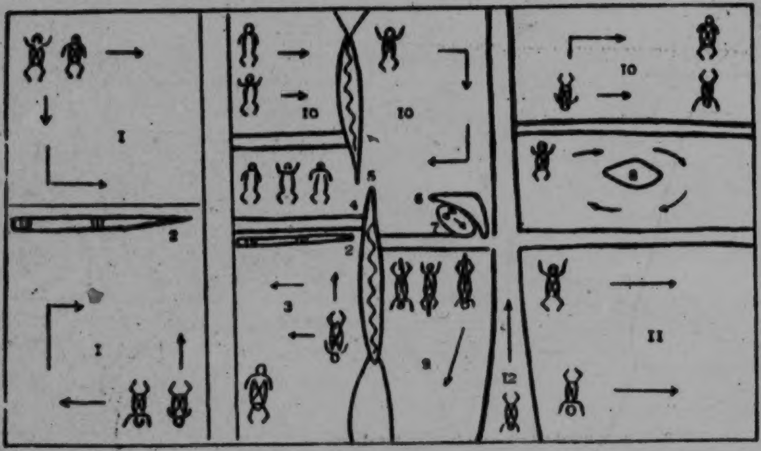


Text Figure 6.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIII.

Men dancing on the sacred ground, with women awaiting ceremonial intercourse.

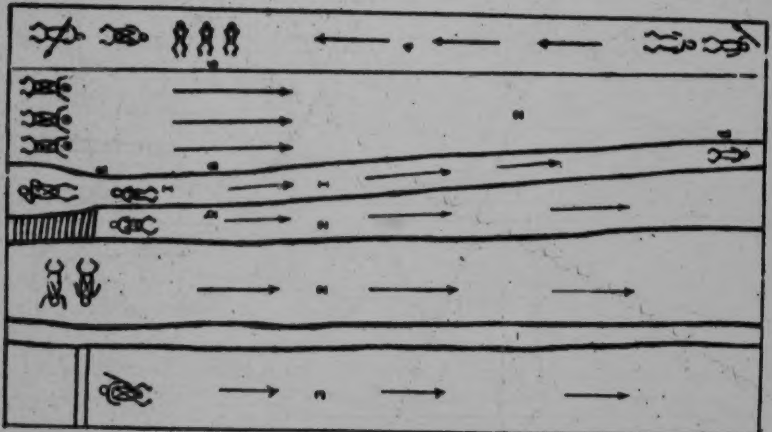
On the left hand side of the drawing, ranged on either side, are men dancing (1); in the middle is the stick (2) used for pushing back the *jelmalandji* when they fall. They belong to both the *jiritja* and the *dua* moieties, and have blood smeared over their bodies; this symbolises the afterbirth and menstruation blood of the Wauwalak sisters.

In the central panel, to one side of the *darlpa jelmalandji* (4), are *dua* women (3), decorated like the men with fibre string crossed over their chest and body. They are awaiting ceremonial coitus and represent female opossums; they wear *diridiri* pubic aprons. On the opposite side are their Kunapipi sexual partners (9), representing male opossums, wearing long penes of paperbark.

Above is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (5), surrounded by dancing men (10) smeared with blood. In the corner is the *kanala* (6), with *muru* and *wari* novices (7) lying covered with sheets of paper-bark on the concave side. The sacred dancing and the *jelmalandji* have not yet been revealed to them.

On the right hand side is the *nanggaru* (8) with the same men (10) dancing around it, while below are others, also dancing (11). Along the track (12) leading to the *kanala* (6) are opossum men, dancing to surround the novices (7).

532 796 881 The sixth and final drawing,[9] Plate XIV and text figure 7, in black, green, yellow, red, and blue, represents the last stage of the Kunapipi.



Text Figure 7.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIV.
The last stage of the Kunapipi.

Across the centre of the drawing (1) is the *djepalmandji*, with its two rails (1 *a* and *b*) supported at either end on forked sticks (1 *c* and *d*). In each forked stick sits a *jiritja* man, repeatedly calling out. Under the boughs and branches strewn over the rails are the *wari* and *muru*.

Below the *djepalmandji* is a row of *jiritja* and *dua* dancing men (2); they move around the *djepalmandji*. On either side of the *djepalmandji* are other men (2) dancing. Further below, a row of men (3) wearing opossum-fur pubic coverings, and carrying spears, dances on to the *djepalmandji* ground. Above, a row of men (4) leads some novices (5) towards the forked stick "shade". The ground is now arranged ready for the entry of the women, who are called by the two *jiritja* men sitting in the forks of the *djepalmandji*.

[171] These drawings, then, reveal concisely the main features of the Kunapipi ceremonies. They show striking similarity to a collection of Kunapipi (Kalwadi) drawings obtained in the central-western part of the Northern Territory.

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[9] Reference: No. 4, Series B, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, R. Berndt.

Dreams are rarely "extraordinary"[1] when they occur in Yirrkalla 124
life; they are related to the ordinary round of events, and are defi- 787
nitely not placed in the category of the supernatural. They are an 159
adjunct of normal and conventional living; and just as a man's body 828
and spirit have experiences in the waking life, so the spirit (separated
now from material ties) has similar experiences (within the range of an
individual's knowledge) in the dreaming sphere, where time and space
are ignored. The aborigines' theory is that the spirit, during sleep,
is released from the body, and during a dream wanders in timeless
space, into the stream of the Eternal Dreamtime.

* * * *

We may turn now to our main theme, the Kunapipi dreams, for
the general question of Yirrkalla dream life requires a separate study. 794

Only three Kunapipi dreams will be considered here: these, among 159
the many hundreds of dreams recorded, were the only ones really
relevant to this discussion. Most of those dreams which referred to 787
sacred and ceremonial aspects were associated with other Wauwalak rituals, like the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak*, but more particularly with the "higher" sacred emblems and ritual of Djanggawul, Laintjung and Banaitja and so on. The reason for this paucity of Kunapipi dreams is possibly that this cult has not as yet a really firm grip of the people's minds, as have more typically indigenous forms. It consists, as we have said, of introduced ritual superimposed on traditional mythology, and from that consideration alone would not be so deeply ingrained in the culture as other and far older local rituals. On the other hand, the three dreams set out here were inspired by lengthy conversations on various aspects of the Kunapipi. Later, when certain Kunapipi ceremonies were in operation, and a great many people of both sexes were brought into the sphere of its influence, it was not possible to record dreams. We may assume, however, that the performance of the Kunapipi would produce related dreaming; for while other ceremonies were being held, it was found that all those concerned invariably had relevant dreams. An important adjunct in the study of native religious life should be the analysis of informants' and participants' dreams; this should not be confined to one sex alone, for we have shown elsewhere the important part played by women, particularly in the Fertility cults, and their dreams reflect their approach to ceremonial (as well as to secular) life.

These Kunapipi dreams belonged to two men. One was Bangga- 159
lawi,[2] a *dua* Djambarpingu *mata*, Ralwia *mala* man, a middle-aged 787
ceremonial headman, well versed in both Djanggawul and Wau- 794
walak ritual, and a leader of the Milingimbi Kunapipi side. The other 796

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[1] L. Warner's Appendix on Dreams (*op. cit.* pp. 511–12) is inadequate.
[2] The Bengaliwo of L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 182 *et seq.*

The other
159 was Gumuk (*vide* Chapter V), an unmarried middle-aged *jiritja*
787 Dalwongu *mata*, Biringal *mala* man, who had homo-sexual tenden-
cies but did engage in normal sex relations. Most of his attention was
794 focused on sacred ritual; he was the representative of the Rose
796 River Kunapipi, to the local headmanship of which he aspired.
[838] Since we are interested here only in the actual context of the dreams,
as an aid to amplifying our previous chapter on ritual, we will not set out the case histories of these men; this would be necessary only if we were analysing fully the dream sequences of each man over the full period of recording. Both these informants were able men, fully acquainted with all aspects of Kunapipi ritual, and qualified to interpret its symbols and conventional expressions.

First comes the translation of Banggalawi's dream.[3]

"I was dreaming about Kunapipi. We had gone out to the sacred ground, where we made a *kanala* (the *ba'uma* of Chapter IV). We opened the veins of our arms and poured the blood into a large shell, and began to stick eagle-hawk down around our waists. When we had finished decorating, we *dua* men got up and 'took dancing' for those *gulwiri* palms.

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[3] Reference: Book 18, Series A, Feb. 5th, 1947, R.B.

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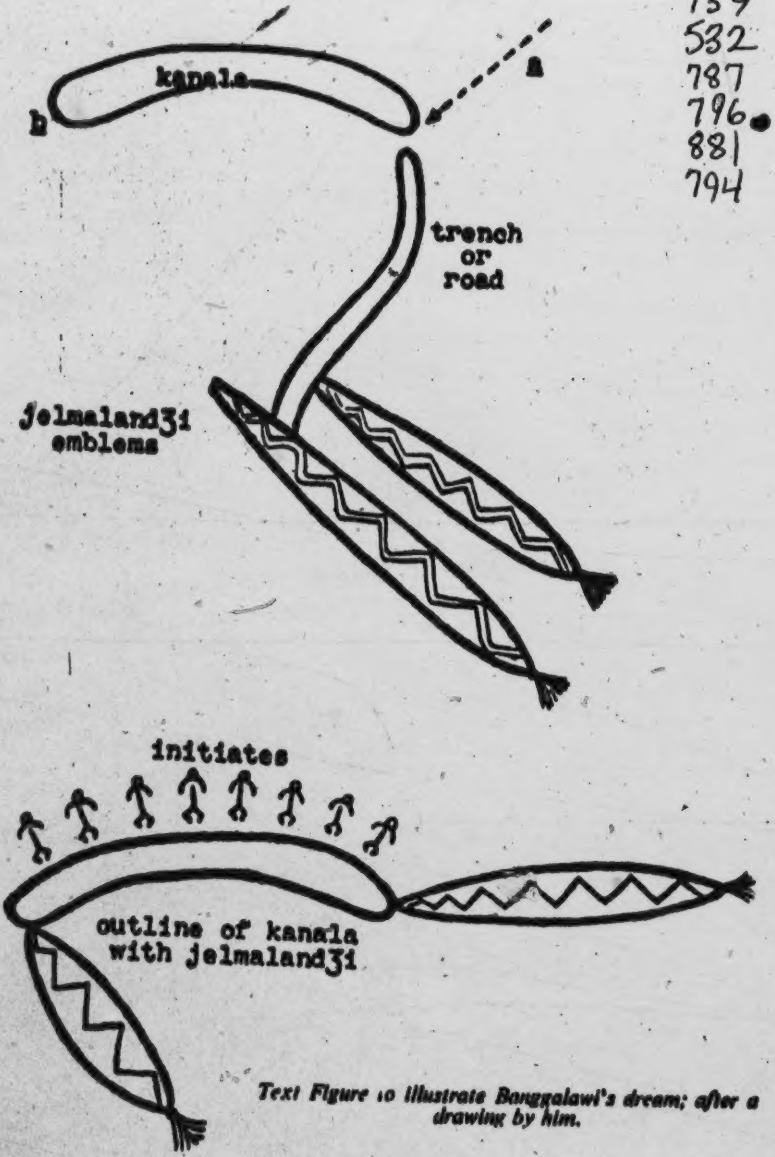
kanala
a
b
trench
or
road
jelmalandʒi
emblems
initiates
outline of kanala
with jelmalandʒi

Text Figure 10 Illustrate Banggalawi's dream; after a drawing by him.

159 "We, that is Mo:ra (a *dua* Dadawi *mata*, Kapin *mala* man),
787 Mo:ra's young brother (dead), some other *dua* men, and I 'walked'
(along *a* in text figure 8), paused, and shook the branches tied to our
●796 forearms; we went on into the *kanala*, and huddled together. While
in there, we called out twice; then we came out, and stood alongside
the *kanala* (at *b*).

"Then we returned to the main camp and slept.

"Next morning, we went back to the sacred ground and the *kanala*, and re-decorated ourselves with blood and feather down. Then we 'took' new 'spring' water dancing, and came into the main part of the ground (along *a*), shaking our branches, and 'going inside' the *kanala*. We sang out from in there, and emerged (at *b*). Then we danced the Lightning Snake and the Yellow Snake, going into the *kanala* each time. When we had finished these, we rested.

"After that we walked down the 'road' (or trench, at *c*), until we reached a group of *jiritja* men standing round the *jelmalandji*. All the *jiritja* moved back (to *a*) and 'took' opossum dancing; they came (down *a*) and began to dance around the *kanala*, 'rubbing it out so nobody could see'. They kept on dancing until it was completely covered, and then went over and stood by the *jelmalandji*.

"They carried the *jelmalandji* over to what had been the *kanala*, and
159 placed one at each end, standing them upright in the ground (as in
787 the lower part of the illustrated text figure marked 2). All the young
796 boys who were initiates were then brought on to the ground; the *dua*
881 boys, *muru*, came in one bunch, and the *jiritja* boys, *wari* (or *waril*),
came in another bunch. They were placed on one side (the convex
side) of the *kanala*, and told to lie down as if they were asleep: men
covered them with blankets. They had not seen the *jelmalandj*
when they were brought in, for their guardians had their hands held
over the boys' eyes.

"Then we sang for a while and danced, until our singing changed; I was leading the singing, beating on my sticks. We threw off the boys' coverings, and told them to look up at the *jelmalandji*. We showed them these sacred posts, and sang and danced all night till just before sunrise. When the sun was getting up, we opened our veins again and let out blood. And this blood we smeared all over the boys' bodies, and over the men. Then we put *marapipi* bands on their foreheads. We smeared more blood over the boys.

"We undid their *naga* (loin cloths) and put bark-fibre from the
[291] *daranggulp* 'coffee' tree around their waists, and branches of green
leaves in front like a pubic apron. We plucked *malpi*, ironwood tree,
branches and tied them on the boys' arms at the elbows and shoulders, on their thighs and on their legs below the knees. We sang over them as we do in the Kunapipi.

"When they were all ready, we took them to the *djepalmani* (that is, *djepalmandji*) that had been erected on the edge of the main camp,

on the way to the sacred ground, and we put those boys under the 159
branches and covered them up. The *jiritja* men were sitting in the
forks of the *djepalmani*, and calling out. I was walking around beating my sticks and singing. 787 796

"The women came towards the *djepalmani* and sat around it. 881
And the two *jiritja* men were calling out, because that Snake had swallowed the Wauwalak sisters.

"And just at that moment, we all became *wonga:r* Dreaming people. All the women who had been sitting there, around the *djepalmani*, had been swallowed by the Snake; for the *jelmalandji* had come down from the sacred ground and turned into Julunggul. Some of us who were *wonga:r* were brothers of the women who had been swallowed. We brothers were looking around for our sisters: 'Where have our sisters gone?' We began to cry out, 'Where are you, our sisters?' And as we were calling, the Julunggul, or *jelmalandji*, vomited all the women so that they fell back into the places where they had been sitting around the *djepalmani*. And the white ants came up to them and bit them and made them alive. 'Ah, our sisters are back,' we cried out. And we changed back from being *wonga:r* people, and we began to sing out ritually because of this.

"We said to the women, 'Look at our *djepalmani*. See the flying foxes sitting in the forks of the tree: they are hanging there. And that rail across from one forked post to the other is a straight branch; and under that straight branch, all the young flying foxes are hanging covered with foliage'. (These are the initiates holding on to the rail under cover of branches, beneath the *djepalmani*.)

"And I came into this cleared place in front of the women and the *djepalmani*, calling out like a man coming after those flying foxes, hunting them, shaking the forked posts as I would shake a tree full of flying foxes. That means that these flying foxes see me and fly over from that tree. And the two men in the forks, who were flying foxes, cried out from their branches; and all the other men danced in, like men coming to hunt the flying foxes.

"All the women changed back to *wonga:r* women and became the Wauwalak sisters; only these were not two, but many. They held yam sticks, just like the Wauwalak sisters did. They cried out for the boys in the *djepalmani*, '*wa ! wa ! wa !*' and the sound of it flew in all directions. Then we men danced in again and circled around them and the *djepalmani*. But just as we began to dance, I awoke".

The informant commented that he dreamt this Kunapipi dream [828]
because he had been talking a lot about the Kunapipi rituals and the *ngu:rlmak* (some ceremonies in the latter concern flying foxes); he had been thinking and worrying about them, wondering when they could be held, and so his dream was a natural outcome of this.

The dream itself needs little interpretation, for its description of 159 787
the ritual varies little from what has already been described. The 796

159 destruction of the *kanala* before the showing of the *jelmalandji* to the 787 initiates is an unusual feature, while the performance of ceremonial copulation which should have taken place after the *jelmalandji* 796 ritual and before the *djepalmani* was omitted altogether. The real meaning of the *djepalmani* (*djepalmandji*) with its forked sticks is not mentioned, since it is identified as the tree in which flying foxes hang. This is the usual way in which the men try to "trick" the women, to hide the real meaning (see description of ritual in Chapter IV). But Banggalawi stressed this aspect, owing to his concern about the *ngu:rlmak* flying fox rituals, which for various reasons had not been held for several years.

The most interesting aspect of the dream is the transposition of the characters, together with Banggalawi himself, from contemporary to *wonga:r* beings. The *jelmalandji*, which are really Julunggul in spirit form, become the *wonga:r* Python who swallows the women, just as Julunggul swallowed the Wauwalak in the myth. Banggalawi identifies himself and the other characters in the dream as being participants in the Wauwalak myth: it is no longer ritual, but actual *wonga:r* happening, and they themselves are the *wonga:r*. Then they change back to ordinary people performing the Kunapipi. Towards the end of the dream the women revert to *wonga:r*, and are the Wauwalak themselves—not just the Two Sisters of the myth, but dozens of female counterparts, who are all Wauwalak. This aspect of a person's absolute identification with the Ancestral or Totemic Beings is not uncommon, nor found only in the realm of dreams. On the sacred ground, when actors perform totemic dances, it is said that the spirit of the totem (or Ancestral Being) enters the neophytes and they become possessed; during the period of a man's dancing he is the sacred being, for his whole personality is absorbed by that of the *wonga:r*. It is this type of identification which takes place in the above dream.

The next dream is Gumuk's.[4]

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[4] Reference: Book 18, Series A, Feb. 3rd, 1947, R.B.

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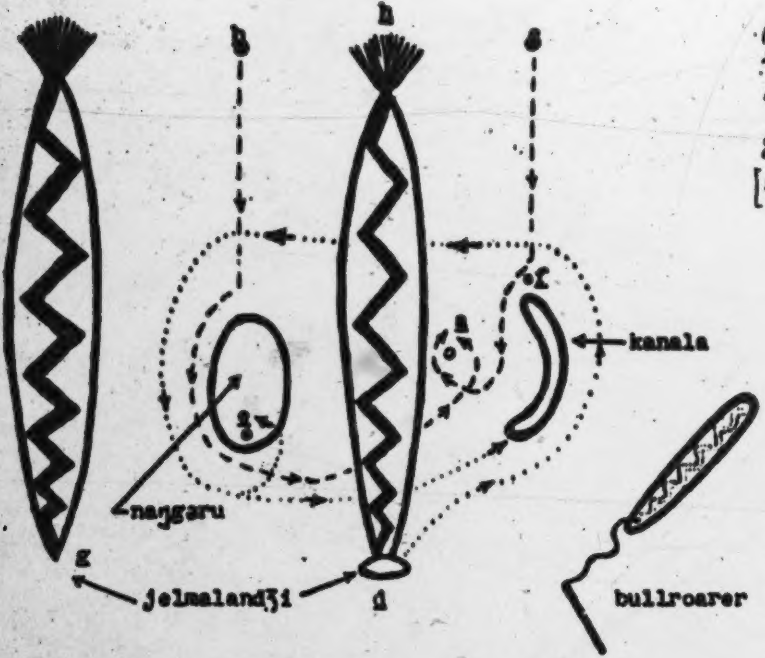

Text Figure 9 to illustrate a dream by Gumuk: after a drawing by him.

"I was dreaming Kunapipi side. I was standing (at *a*, in text figure 9 illustrated here) in the sacred ground, calling out; twice I called out. When I had finished, a lot of men and young boys (that is, initiates) came down the ground. They came in two lines (*b* and *c*), both being *ngulkaru* (that is, 'strangers' or Kunapipi visitors), and among the men were the *wari* (*jiritja* initiates). One lot (*b*) came down and around the *nanggaru* billabong, while the other lot (*c*) moved down past the *kanala* 'river' (that is, uterus trench) and surrounded me (at *a*). The *wari* went down to *d* below the *jelmalandji*, and were covered up by the old men ('the people who look after the sacred grounds'). You see the *jelmalandji* in my drawing (that is text figure 9), well, that is Julunggul swallowing the young boys; you see it rising up above them. In my dream the *jelmalandji* is 'alive' like that big Snake.

"Over by the *nanggaru* (at *e*) was standing Djuwalji (a *jiritja* Gumaitj *mata* man). And as the people surrounded me (at *a*), I walked over (to *f*) and stood there on one end of the *kanala* mound. From there I sang out for all that lot below the *jelmalandji* (at *d*); they moved forward (out of Julunggul) and encircled the *kanala* and

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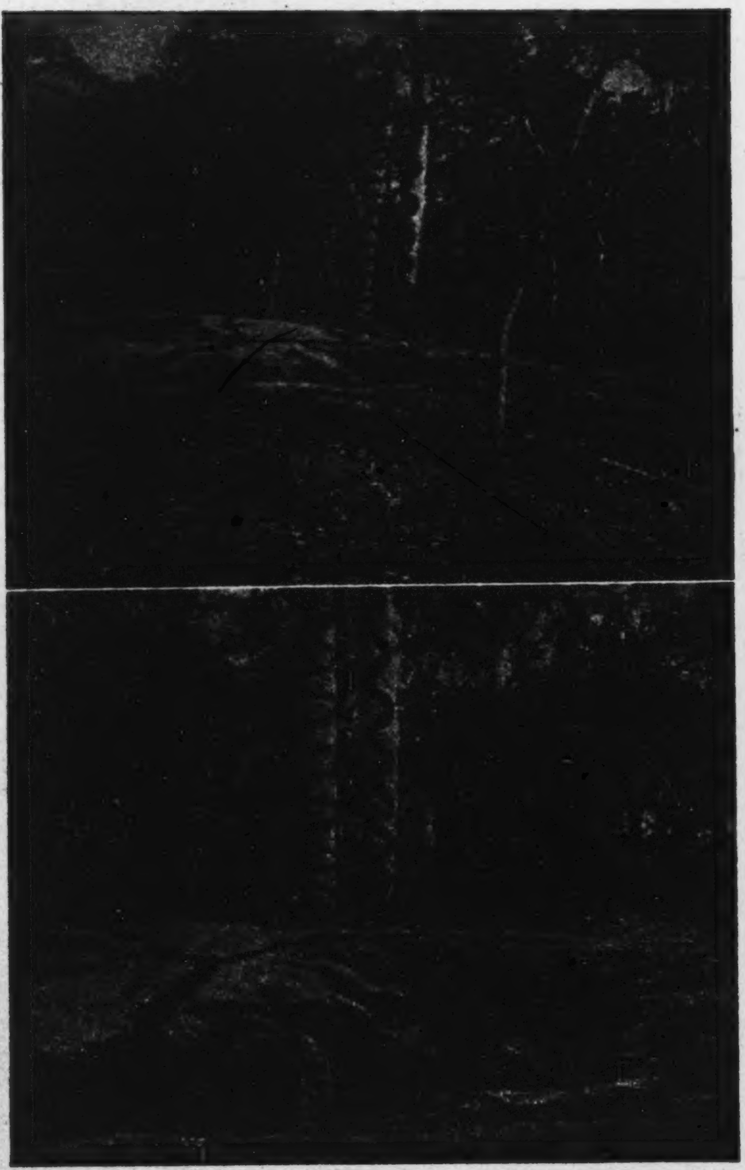

PLATE VIII

[Facing p. 80]

[For captions, see Category 116, p. XI]

159 the *nanggaru*; some went into the *nanggaru*, and others went on and
787 into the *kanala*. All the men with the young initiates called out, when they paused now and then on their way to the *kanala* and *nanggaru*;
796 and they all made a big noise while standing there.

881 “Then the men danced around the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, but did not go into them. They danced the ‘Lightning whipping (that is, striking) the tree’, which we call the *djamala*; but it is also called by the sacred terms *djeimbalma*, *gurungandungandu*, *w'raidji'kaijunduna*, *kokarara*, and *kanggarara*, which mean the flash of lightning striking and splitting the tree. While we danced, the *dua* men swung the bullroarers, which we call *maralpan(dji)*, *pundjarlari* and *kindji:lari*, while its human hair string attachment (the tail of the Snake) is *jurawa*, *mikara*, *libana* or *djuruwalimbana*. The bullroarer is like the Snake
[789] himself calling, for when you swing it, twirling it from the stick to which the cord is attached, you send lightning all over the place.

“Then we called and sang the sacred names of the *kanala*:
[539] ‘*kanala* ; *kanala'indja* ; *ju:tubilmani* ; *kanu:lanawalkwalkgwina*; *Kanala'buldjalwondinja* ; *kanala'djeijil'malindjei* ; *kanala'madpaindi:nja*; *kanala'buramanbir*’ (e.g. see Chapter VII, Song 3).

“We turned to the *nanggaru*, the Snake’s hole, to the place where Djuwalji was standing (at *e*), which was the mark made by the Snake when it came out of the *nanggaru*. And we called and sang the sacred names of the *nanggaru*: ‘*nanggaru* ; *wuninbilibaija* ; *wa:ngnanggu* ; *baiala*; *djalpunbu*; *wandi:ku*; *buldjalwondi*; *winibini:nbailji* ; *buldjalwondinja*—the nest in which the Snake lies.’

“We turned to the two *jelmalandji*, the Snake towering over the place where the initiates had been lying, and the “cabbage” palm at *g*. And we called and sang their sacred names:

“ ‘*kanggara* ; *dju:randju:ran'kanggara* ; *gumanangaleija'anga*-
[539] *leija* ; *gumanangali:tjbili:tjbi* ; *gumana'wu:rulndja'wu:rulndja* ; *ru:kari* ; *windigwi:agwi:a'windigwi:agwi:a* ; *djalparu'ru:karwa* ; *bu:ra:rwa* ; *wuraldja* ; *gumalanga'ngeidjangeidja* ; *gumanang'ngali'djili:dji* ; *windigwi:agwi:a'djanggara*.’ (This last word is chanted when the Kunapipi headman beats his sticks as the *jelmalandji* are pushed over.) And we pushed down the *jelmalandji*, so that the *watamunu*,
[616] the emu-feathered tops, fell off. The main *jelmalandji* (*h*) was for the *dua* linguistic groups of Marakulu and Ri:radjingu; while the other (*g*) was for the Murungun, Djapu and Djarwak, *dua* groups.

“As the bullroarer was swung, its string broke, and the loose piece of wood flew over and hit a *durilji* gum tree: the impact was so powerful that the tree split, and pieces fell to each side. Then we walked over to pick up the bullroarer, and as I bent down I awoke.”

Gumuk said that anger was the cause of this dream: he had cooked
[828] some rice for his supper, leaving it on the fire. When he came back for it, it was gone; someone had stolen it. He was “a bit sorry for himself, because he had been cooking just for nothing”. He went to

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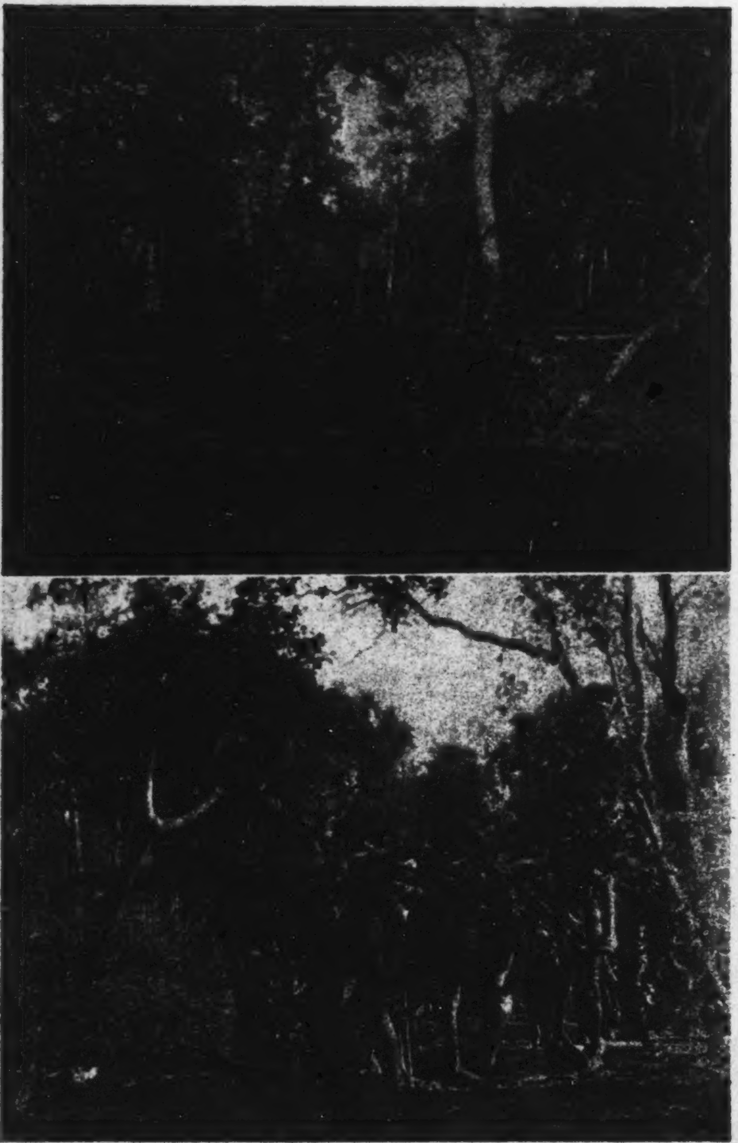

PLATE IX

[Facing p. 81]

[For captions see category 116, p. xii]

sleep feeling hungry, and dreamt about this Kunapipi. That is, he [828]
went back to his "Dreaming" for consolation.

Most of this dream too consists of description of ritual, but not in 159
conventional sequence. Some interesting aspects appear, which 787
amplify our previous discussion of the Kunapipi. There is complete 881
identification of the *jelmalandji* with the Julunggul Snake. But 796
Gumuk re-interpreted the *kanala* and *nanggaru* in commenting on his dream. He said that the *nanggaru* was actually the "Mother's" (that is, the Wauwalak's) uterus, while the *kanala* was the channel ("river") or passage of the vagina, "through which people passed in the Dreaming" (that is, during the period when the Wauwalak walked the earth). He was possibly interpolating here his own theory as to the meaning of these symbols, for usually the *kanala* is the uterus and the *nanggaru* the place of the big Snake. This individual interpretation, however, is extremely valuable; for it is far more logical to classify the *nanggaru*, which is round or oval, as a uterus, and the *kanala*, narrow and resembling a channel, as a vagina. Gumuk's reference to people passing through the *kanala* in the "Dreaming period", is connected with the idea that the Mother "let out" people from her womb, so that they could perform sacred ritual, returning when this was completed. This aspect is not apparent in Yirrkalla mythology; Gumuk possibly assimilated it from Rose
River, where Kunapipi ritual has a stronger hold of the people's
imagination and sacred activity, and where it is more likely to be [177]
influenced by external features.

The calling of the sacred alternate names for the Lightning dancing, the bullroarer and its string, the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, as well as
for the *jelmalandji*, has not been mentioned before in our discussion. [552]
The concept is found, however, in the calling of the *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukalilji* (*jiritja*), or "power" names of invocation, and some of these are widely distributed. The use of the term *djamala*, in reference to the "Lightning whipping" dance, is equivalent to the *djamala mareiin* mentioned in Chapter IV, which consists of the throwing of firesticks; both refer to the Snake's sending lightning so that a tree was split and the Wauwalak were frightened. The climax of Gumuk's dream is the breaking of the bullroarer's string while it is being twirled: it flies through the air and splits a tree, but is itself undamaged. This symbolizes Julunggul's act of sending lightning to split a tree, for the bullroarer "is like the Snake" (that is, part of its spirit), and its whirling "like lightning". It is the natural culmination of the
djamala dancing around the *nanggaru* and *kanala*. 159

The final dream also belongs to Gumuk.[5] 787
"I have been dreaming about Kunapipi, and two 'Dreaming' men 796
[574]

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[5] Reference: Book 12, Series A, Dec. 27th, 1946.

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787 who were *kakawar* (that is, visiting strangers to the Kunapipi ceremonies).

●796
[574] "I came along with the *kakawar* through the bush, calling out at

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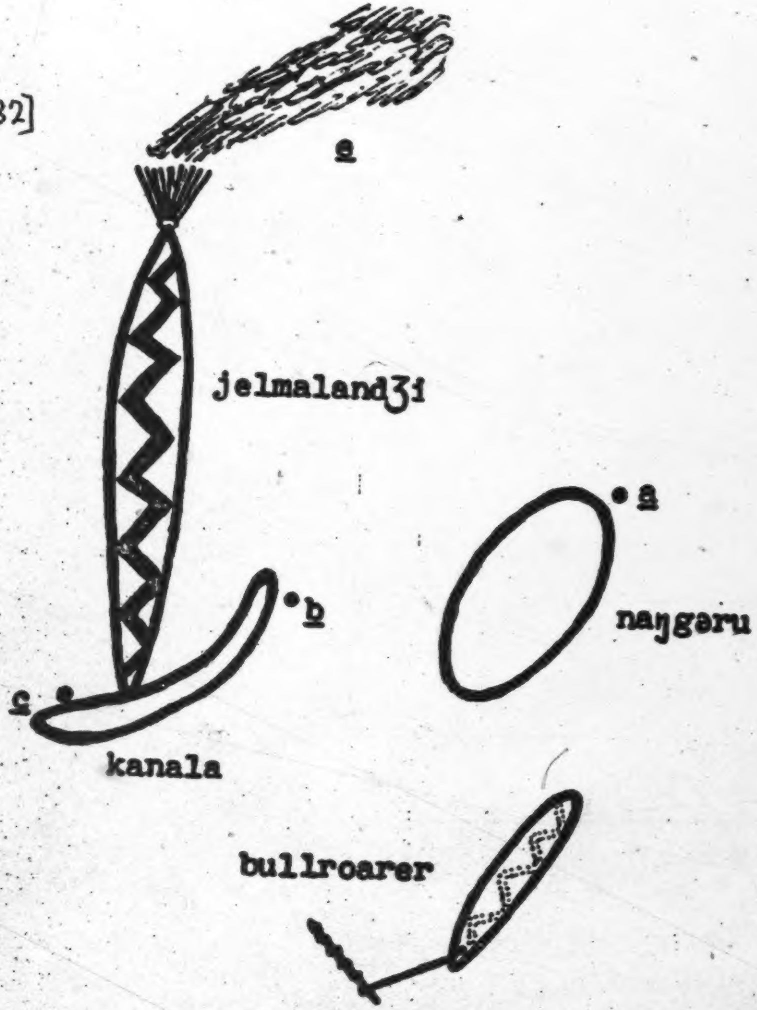
e
jelmalandʒi
a
b
naŋgəru
c
kanala
bullroarer

Text Figure 10 to illustrate Gumuk's second dream: after a drawing by him intervals, until we entered the sacred ground where the *nanggaru*, the *kanala*, and one *jelmalandji* were ready. 159 787

796 "One *kakawar* stood (at *a*, in the accompanying sketch figure, 10) outside the *nanggaru* billabong, and the other (at *b*) outside the *kanala* "river"; and they called out. I stood (at *c*) beside the *kanala*. We then rested, while the two *kakawar* made the human-hair cord for the bullroarer (*d*); then one of these men (at *a*) covered his face with leaves, all hanging down from his headband.

"We called out again, and looked over towards the *jelmalandji*, standing upright alongside the *kanala*. From out of its bunch of emu feathers, we saw smoke rising: billows of smoke (*e*) coming from the top of the *jelmalandji*, but no fire. We took hold of the *jelmalandji* and placed it in the *kanala* 'river', which is really the Wauwalak's vagina. We put it in the trench, lying down, like a big penis. Then we danced around the *kanala*, 'taking' opossum dancing, pushing in the mound until the *jelmalandji* was buried and the *kanala* covered.

[534] "After resting, the two *kakawar* men got the bullroarer, which had been left in the *nanggaru*; they attached the cord to a stick, wound it up, and swung it, and there was a big noise. All the women in the main camp answered it; and other men appeared, and erected a *djepalmandji* between the sacred ground and the main camp. The three of us came down towards it, and saw all the young boys hidden under the framework, and the women sitting in a bunch covered with blankets. And as I looked, I awoke".

[828] Gumuk mentioned that he had this Kunapipi dream because he was worrying about getting some tobacco to smoke. He was worrying and thinking about this, and dropped off to sleep and dreamt this dream.

As in the last two dreams, the incidents mentioned refer to actual Kunapipi ritual. Gumuk did not try to interpret the smoking *jelmalandji*; but it seems most likely that his desire for tobacco, in order to smoke before sleeping, has been thus projected into the dream. It is not unusual for a secular activity of this kind to appear in dreams devoted mainly to sacred subjects. On the sacred ground itself, tobacco is considered *mareiin* (sacred) and may be smoked only by the Kunapipi headman (or other ceremonial leader) and the elders, although others may step outside the ground and enjoy a smoke in the normal way. In view of this, it does not seem necessary to search for an esoteric reason for the smoking *jelmalandji*; it is possible, too, in a ritualistic sense, for Gumuk to identify himself with the *jelmalandji* (irrespective of the sex of the Julunggul).

[831] Gumuk reiterated his view that the *kanala*, a "river", is really the Wauwalak's vagina. The *jelmalandji* symbolizes the penis, which is removed from its upright position and placed in the *kanala* "like a big penis", just as happens in coitus. The opossum dancing around the *kanala* is, as has been mentioned, concerned with simulation of

159 the sexual act, while the covering of the *kanala* and the *jelmalandji*
787 signifies the complete insertion of the penis. This, of course, conforms
●796 to what is believed to be the underlying intent of the Kunapipi
[831] ritual and the Wauwalak mythology; through fertilization by the
penis (symbolized by the Snake), the Wauwalak (representing the Fertility Mother) becomes the source of fecundity for human, animal and other species.

The last phase of the dream refers to the final Kunapipi ceremony, in which the *djepalmandji* is used. This rite, signifying rebirth, is a normal outcome of the above ceremony; for from the symbolic act of coitus "someone or something will be born", and in the Kunapipi it is the initiates who emerge from their experience like new people.

* * * *

159 These three dreams serve to amplify our discussion of Kunapipi
787 ritual, and stress its inter-relationship with the basic Wauwalak
theme. Some new features are introduced, such as the re-interpreta-
121 tion of the *kanala* and *nanggaru*; but this does not fundamentally alter the conventional intent of Kunapipi ceremonies.

There is possibly a recognized pattern in Kunapipi dreams, over and above descriptive details of its rituals, which may be modified or exaggerated according to individual inclination or personal response. Definite patterns are found in dreams relating to other aspects of Wauwalak mythology or Djanggawul ritual, or to matters of alien contact. Much field work however has yet to be done in the realm of psychological reaction to indigenous (and introduced) religious phenomena.

[pp. 85-203 not processed]

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PLATE X

[p. 84(A)]

[For captions, see category 116, p. xii]

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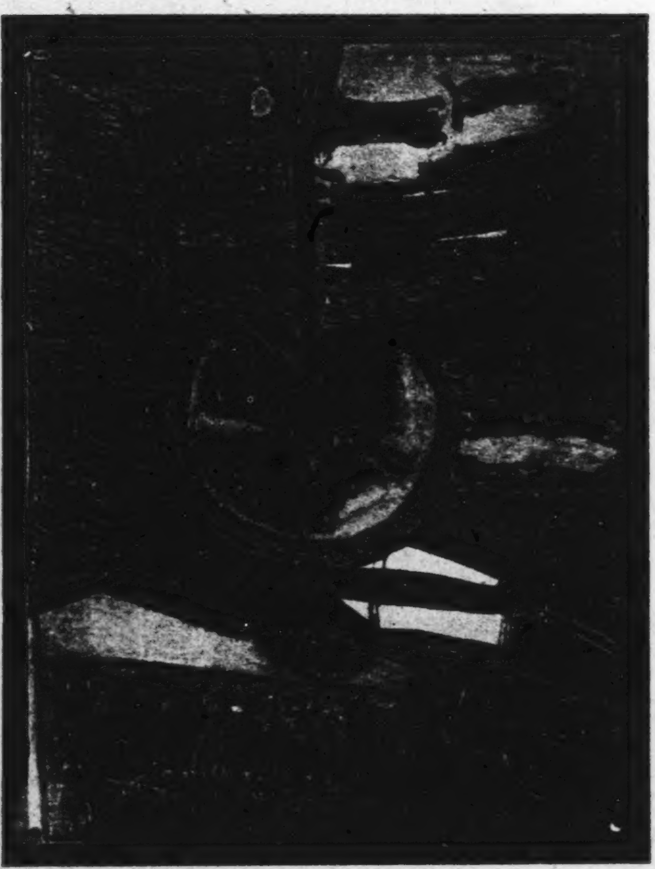

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PLATE XI

[p. 84(B)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 62-63.—Analyst]

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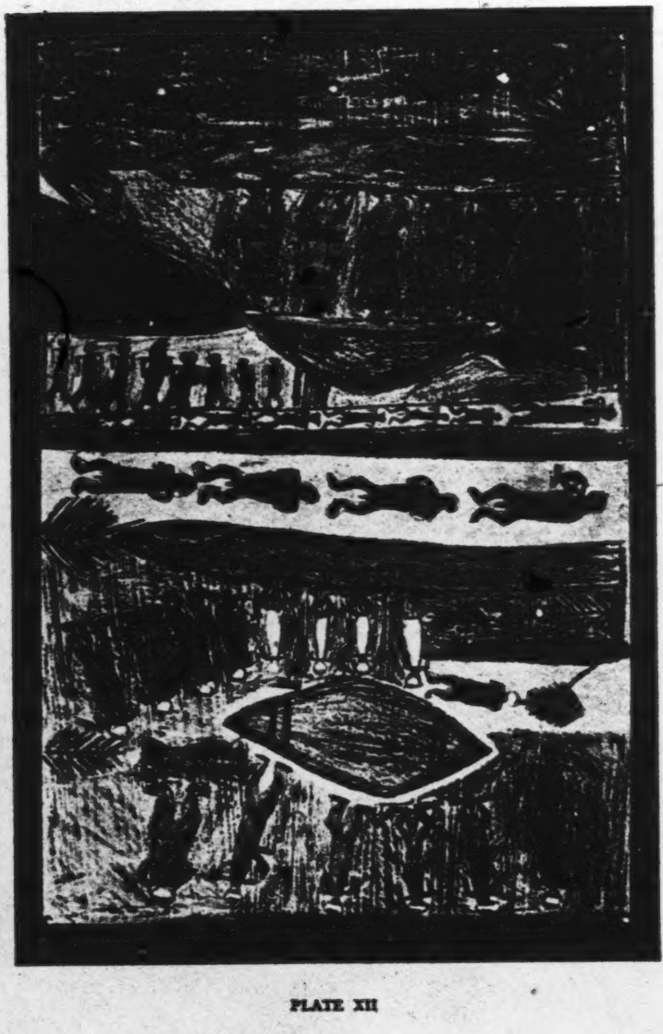

PLATE XII

[p. 84(c)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 65-66. —Analyst]

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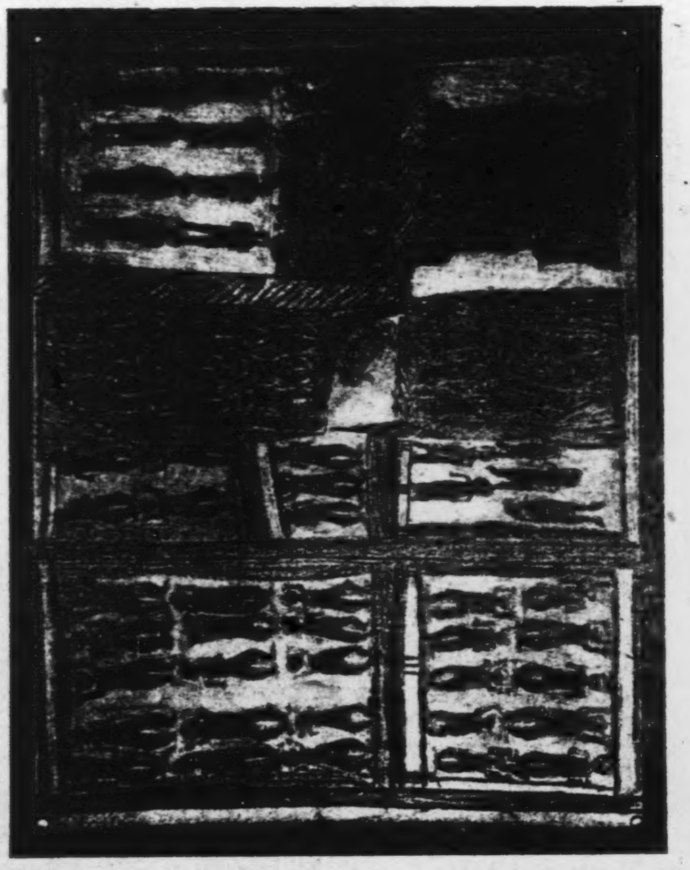

PLATE XIII

[p. 84 (D)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 68-69. - Analyst]

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PLATE XIV

[p. 84(E)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, p. 70. — Analyst]

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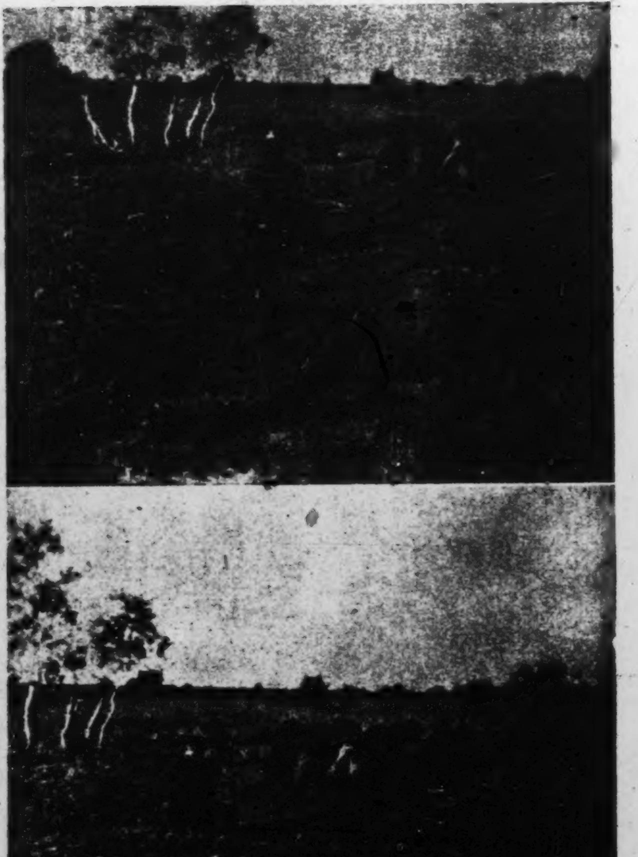

PLATE XVI

[p. 84(G)]

[For captions see category 116, p. xiii]

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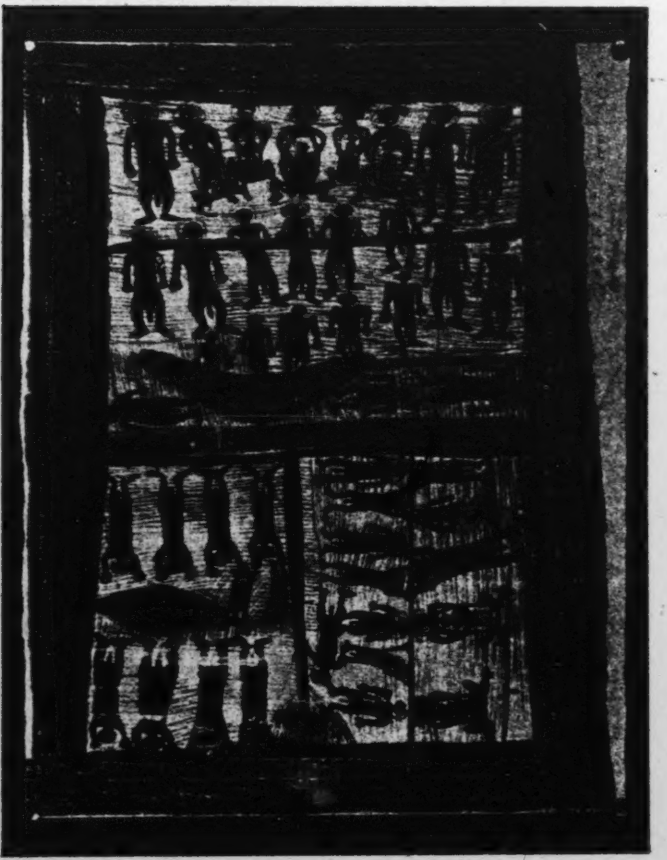

PLATE XVII

[p. 84 (H)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 67-68.—Analyst]

7)

APPENDIX I

171 In the main body of this work some mention has been made of
794 ceremonial copulation during the performance of the Kunapipi.
796 Our examples were taken principally from north-eastern and south-
ern Arnhem Land, with reference to the Roper River region; and
831 for comparison with these the following data from western Arnhem
Land are presented.

During our field work in the western Arnhem Land region, at the Goulburn Islands and Oenpelli, little reference was made to the Kunapipi ceremonies;[1] it was said that these were introduced by
[177] Reinbaranga people from the south and south-east, in the direction
of the Roper River, or that they came from the Milingimbi area to the east.

Recently, however, the writer's chief informant at South Goulburn
[115] Island, a Maung man named Small Ngolaman (or Nangolominj),
who is incidentally one of the very few literate aborigines on the north coast of the Northern Territory, and who has been "keeping track" of certain problems in the region during our absence, writes that the Kunapipi is known to some of the mainland men who visit Goulburn Island. The Kunapipi, as we are already aware, is carried out in the vicinity of Oenpelli, and in the upper Liverpool River area, under the auspices of Reinbaranga or Milingimbi leaders, and is known (but not practised) at Goulburn Island.

Small Ngolaman's preliminary statement[2] reveals some very interesting features: for example, the use of one girl on the sacred ground needs more accompanying data, since it bears a striking similarity to the more western type, as carried out by the old Laraki:a tribe; this will however be dealt with later. Ngolaman's informant
[115] was a Maung man, named Inmindjur.

"Messengers are sent out, notifying the various groups that the
[203] Kunapipi is to be held. When the people come in to the ceremonial
camp, the rituals begin. The Kunapipi headman chooses a young
794 girl, and takes her away from the main camp to the sacred ground.
She is placed in a big bough shade or hut, recently built by the young
796 initiated men; she lies there on her back. Two holes are dug, one on
831 each side of her; a strong post is placed in each, and rammed

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[1] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land,* Chapter IV, Section IX.

[2] *Correspondence* to R. Berndt, October 4th, 1948.

right down. The girl's legs are tied to the posts, so that her legs are 831
outstretched between them. (We know of no other reference to the 794
actual tying down of the Kunapipi girl who has been chosen for 796
ceremonial coitus. As a young girl is specified, this probably refers
to ritual defloration which has been mentioned briefly elsewhere— [114]
vide Chapters IV, V and X. It suggests also that force is used to hold
the girl, a feature which should not normally accompany this rite;
moreover, promiscuity is such a feature of this area, with the breaking down of indigenous regulations governing sexual conduct, that one would not expect it to be necessary.)

The men then paint themselves, and line up for dancing. There may be two or three hundred men on the sacred ground. The headman begins to beat his clapping sticks, while the dancing men clap their hands rhythmically to the music and song, and call out intermittently.
Then the first man, at the head of the long line of dancing men, leaves
the line and goes into the shade and copulates with the Kunapipi girl; [833]
the other men continue clapping their hands and calling out.

Under the girl, immediately beneath her vulva, a small depression has been dug and in it has been placed a shallow paperbark dish; this catches the semen and vaginal juices that come out of the girl.

When the first man has left the hut, another takes his place; this is continued until all the men in the line have entered the hut and copulated, and their semen has flowed from the girl into the paperbark container.

By this time, the container is full; and after a rest, the men remove
it from the hut and begin to paint themselves with the semen; then [302]
they continue their dancing, which goes on from early morning until sunset. Ceremonial coitus takes place each day for several weeks, different girls being chosen for each ceremony." Other rituals relating to the Kunapipi are also performed in a sequence similar to that already discussed.

It should be mentioned that the reason given for thus decorating
the postulants' bodies with designs in semen and vaginal juices is [842]
the belief in the fructifying potency of the former. The act of
ceremonial coitus is itself symbolic of fertilization, and the subse- [789]
quent increase of human and the natural species; semen is the essence which causes pregnancy; and this natural and logical belief is an integral part of the rituals of the Kunapipi fertility cult.

There is also an association between semen and the saliva of the
Julunggul Snake (*vide* Chapter III, *et seq.*); it was with this substance [773]
that Julunggul smeared the Wauwalak and the child prior to swallowing. This "saliva" is represented by white pipe-clay in parts of
the Kunapipi, and it is with this that Kunapipi neophytes are painted. [386]

[p. x is blank]

ILLUSTRATIONS

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1 Two *nara* postulants emerge from the sacred shade on to the dancing ground, carrying a *rangga* on their shoulders. 16 796

2 Embracing the *rangga* on the sacred ground: one postulant lies between his companion's legs. 16

3 Left-hand panel: *djuda* and *mauwulan rangga*; the former are arranged at each side, with three pairs of *mauwulan* in the centre. These belong to the people who have issued from the Djanggawul Sisters. 17 532 733

Right-hand panel: Bildjiwuraroiju and Miralaidj, in the position taken for childbirth, with *rangga* folk streaming from them. Their eyes are wide open, with tears flowing; they wear waist-bands and head-bands, and on their arms are armlets with feathered pendants.

Female children are under the round fringed *ngainmara* mats, one at each side of both Sisters, while the male children are unprotected. Each group of people belongs to a certain region.

4 This whole drawing shows in detail various Djanggawul *nara* ceremonies. 17 532 796

From left to right:

First panel, bottom: arm-band dance.

above: the black *gagaga* bird perched on a rock at Walbinboi just outside Jelangbara.

Illustrations

532
•796 Second panel, above: the *wriga*, 'young' fresh-water snake dance, postulants each holding spear and womera.

below: *djirindidi* calling of the invocations (*bugali*) on the *gararag* pole. Three men are dancing around him, invoking.

Third panel, above: tide flowing in.

below: the Sea dance, flowing water, etc.

Fourth panel, above: Flying Fox dance—two men on *gararag* pole.

below: Water dancing.

Fifth panel, above: two men dance the male and female goanna.

below: the goanna *rangga*, which is danced by the two men shown above.

band: two *mauwulan rangga*.

Sixth panel, above: wild duck dancing.

below: red parakeet dancing.

778, 5 The *rangga* emblems are displayed on the sacred ground, while special songs relating to them are sung. 32

532 6 This is the central panel of a long drawing showing Jelangbara. In the lower right-hand panel, the Djanggawul Brother is holding a *ngainmara* on his thighs (this symbolizes the younger Sister, and his drawing it on to his thighs refers to the conventional position taken in coitus). He then removed *rangga* (*djuda* and *mauwulan*) emblems, shown beside and above him. 33
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The younger Sister is seen in the middle of the left-hand panel, with *rangga* at each side.

The central band, with the two *djanda* goanna, represents the sacred shade.

7 *From left to right:* 33

First panel (left), above: *djuda rangga*.

below: a black bird on Gagubam Island, near Port Bradshaw. Flying foxes hanging from the sacred *djuda* tree.

Second panel (right): male and female goanna, frightened by the approach of the Djanggawul, and about to dive into the billabong at Gagubam Island.

above: two goanna *rangga* representing these two goanna, and at the extreme right are two *djuda rangga*.

Illustrations

796 778 15 Calling the *bugali* invocations in front of the sacred *nara* shade, before the emergence of a totemic being. 144

16 The Goanna emblem emerges from the shade, which in this case is constructed from iron. 144

532 778 17 This design represents various sacred shades belonging to different linguistic groups. 145

Left-hand panel, top: sacred goanna on *djuda rangga* tree: the Djanggawul Brother with his *djuda* and *mauwulan* and beating sticks.

below: goanna on *djuda* tree; and sacred Goanna Tail *rangga*.

The two panels are divided by goanna tracks.

Right-hand panel, top: goanna on *djuda* tree; tracks, and sacred design.

below: goanna on *djuda* tree: one Djanggawul Sister with beating sticks, beside Goanna Tail *rangga*.

778 796 18 *Nara* postulants representing male and female Goanna. The Goanna Tail *rangga* rests across the younger man's neck. 145

19 The Djanggawul Goanna emerges from the shade. 160

20 Postulants in stylized attitudes, with the Goanna Tail *rangga*; sacred shade, at the Place of the Mauwulan. 160

778 796 534 21 Two men singing, rhythmically clapping sticks, and blowing the long, sacred Julunggul Rainbow Snake or Rock Python drone pipe, above the posturing sacred goanna of the Place of the Mauwulan. 161

22 To the rhythmic beat of clapping sticks, the Julunggul Rock Python drone pipe emerges from the *dua* moiety *nara* shade. Postulants are lying on their backs, huddled together, with the *rangga* emblem resting upon them. 161

532 773 23 Left-hand panel: Bildjiwuraroiju, Miralaidj and the Djanggawul Brother (top). The Two Sisters have long clitorises, and the Brother a long penis, which drag on the ground, and resemble *djuda rangga*. They hold goanna tail and 208

Illustrations

mauwulan rangga, one in each hand. People (symbolized by dots) have come from the Two Sisters: a small circle of *rangga* folk is seen dancing, among them the Two Wauwalag Sisters. 532 773

Right-hand panel, above: the Djanggawul Brother is inserting his hand into Miralaidj's vagina, and removing *rangga* folk, shown flowing from her. *Rangga* emblems are ranged beside the Brother and Sister. This took place at Dulmulwondeinbi, near Marabai.

Right-hand panel, below: Bildjiwuraroiju, opposite Miralaidj. The Djanggawul Brother has lifted aside their clitorises, and put his hand into their vaginae. People flow out, male *rangga* folk on one side, and females on the other. This took place at Jalwuljalwul.

24 *From left to right:* 208

First panel: Miralaidj as central figure; on each side of her is a woman, one (above) being her elder Sister and one (below) Bammarimarawi, her daughter and 'sister'.

Afterbirth blood flows from Miralaidj into a hole, and she stands holding two poles; as soon as the hole is filled, it overflows and runs from each side. It is after this that the elder Sister, by hitting the young Sister's hips, stops the flow of blood. Four rangga folk then come out (two men and two women).

Central panel of clapping-sticks (above), and two *mauwulan* with sacred dilly bags attached (below)—(penis and uterus symbols).

Right-hand panel, top: the sun comes up, casting its rays.

below: sunset on the mainland beyond Milingimbi, towards the west.

At Jelangbara.

25 Postulants (both Goanna actors) using the Goanna Tail *rangga* emblem; one supports it on his shoulder, while the other guides it. 209 778 796

26 *Jiritja* moiety *nara*: *rangga* are removed from the shade, and postulants dance. 209 778 796 535

27 Dancing with the *jiritja* moiety *rangga*: dust rises, as dancing feet pound the sacred ground. 224

Illustrations

●796 28 Neophytes wait with heads bowed, before the showing of the sacred Djanggawul emblems. 224

778 796 29 Meditation before the sacred Goanna Tail *rangga*. Postulants caress the feathered pendants—symbolic of the sun's rays, the clitorises, foreskins or umbilical cords. 225

Map 8–9

NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

126 The crayon drawings illustrated here represent only a small selection of those available, and stored at the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University. They do not show to advantage in black and white and it is hoped that later on a wider selection will be presented in colour. Only brief descriptions of each drawing have been inserted here; each drawing contains a great deal of detail, which ideally requires considerable explanation, not possible in this volume.

All these drawings were collected between 29th January, 1947 and 15th June, 1947 at Yirrkalla, in north-eastern Arnhem Land. They were done on brown paper with coloured lumber crayon and black pencil, and were used by the writer as an adjunct to his field notes. They conform to traditional patterns and representations, [532] which would normally be drawn on stringy bark boards in coloured ochres.

114 issues. The concept that woman is profane, in comparison with
794 man the sacred, is not a feature of eastern Arnhem Land religious or lay thought.

The symbolism in the myth and songs makes clear the intentions
796 of the relevant ritual. In the *dua* moiety *nara*, as an expression
182 of the Djanggawul ideology, the major incidents of the myth are
re-enacted in symbolic form. Much of this ritual is taken up with
[535] totemic dancing; and the animals, birds, reptiles and vegetable
matter danced are totemic in so far that they relate directly or indirectly to the dominant theme. Further, these totems are not used only in relation to the Djanggawul, but are part of the spiritual heritage of the *dua* moiety linguistic groups and clans, which in turn are associated with the Djanggawul.

796 *Dua nara* rituals are all inspired by the Djanggawul, although at times irrelevant elements enter; for example, other *dua* spirits
616 or Ancestral Beings of minor importance become associated with the main theme, or *jiritja* moiety elements appear from time to time in the myth. But the Djanggawul are *dua*, and their ceremonies are solely of the *dua nara*, and not (as Warner mentions)[1] of both *dua* and *jiritja*. The latter are inspired by their own separate ideology, and by the Laintjung and Banaitja Ancestral Beings; and although similar in many points, they are basically different. However, it is the practice for some *jiritja* men (maternally related to the *dua* moiety) to help out *dua* postulants, or vice versa: and it is usual for both moieties to hold their own particular rituals at approximately the same time. At Yirrkalla, separate ceremonial grounds and separate huts are used by each moiety; but in the western Arnhem Land variant of the *nara* rituals the same ground is used, although each moiety has its separate hut (or shade), which may or may not adjoin that of the other. In eastern Arnhem Land, the ritual demarcation between the moieties is particularly noticeable.

796 The *dua*, and for that matter the *jiritja*, *nara* are the most important
religious ceremonies of eastern Arnhem Land. Being far more
794 important that the *kunapipi*, *ngurlmag* and *djunggawon*, they are not
concerned with age-grading in the same sense that other initiation
885 rituals are. They are primarily revelatory in character; and although novices are received, they are rather neophytes who are already fully initiated into manhood, and already possessed of a certain amount of religious knowledge. By the time a man sees his first *nara* he is well past adolescence, and usually married; he would normally be expected to have already seen the *ngurlmag*; and to be taking a major part in *djunggawon* dancing, as well as in that of the *kunapipi*, although the latter is optional.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 340.

Significance of the Djanggawul

Long before the actual rituals commence, men go out to the 796
sacred ground to prepare the objects. The wooden poles and
posts are removed from their hiding places in the water or mud, 794
and weeks are spent in re-painting them. Women are asked to prepare long feathered strings, which are never directly given to the men, but always 'stolen' by them. This is conventional behaviour, and relates to the Djanggawul Brother and his companions' stealing the sacred *rangga*, bags and so on from the Two Sisters in the beginning (see Chapter 2). The preliminary preparations take weeks, and are accompanied by singing and invocations.
Neophytes are brought in from time to time, and their chests painted [302]
with sacred clan designs: they continue to wear these when they return to the camp, and never wash or rub them off, but allow them to fade naturally. In this way the neophytes contract many ritual obligations, since they must recompense their 'initiators'—that is,
those who are revealing the mysteries to them. They must also
observe a number of tabus relating to their general behaviour, and to [784]
the partaking of food.[1] Later, the same neophytes are shown the *rangga* emblems and their designs, and the meanings are explained to them.

By this time, the neophytes have reached the stage when they are regarded as being eligible to witness the first ceremonies. The sacred ground has been prepared, the shade erected and the objects completed. A sacred aura is now said to pervade the ritual ground, and the spiritual presence of the Djanggawul is assured.

The ceremonies which now begin are not seen completely by 796
those neophytes who are brought to the ground for the first time. 794
Years may pass before the complete series has been revealed to
them, and it is not as a rule until they have reached middle age 561
that they may take an active part in the ritual. Sometimes, however, younger men who show particular aptitude for religious discussion, dancing and singing, are accepted much earlier. There is always a need for young and energetic dancers and actors; and the older men, by allowing the younger men a degree of active participation, cement their adherence to the cult and so reinforce their own position. But even when younger men dance or act, older men are the organizers, and it is their duty to show the way to the other. They, the older men, are always acknowledged to possess greater knowledge of these matters, to be in a position to impart that knowledge. The older men, when they do dance or act, are almost invariably more proficient than the younger men; and although there is a tendency to-day to allow the younger men a greater measure of participation, it still takes years before a neophyte may be legitimately classified as an initiate.

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[1] The economic aspect of the *nara* rituals cannot, unfortunately, be dealt with here.

Significance of the Djanggawul

796 Warner has already set out briefly something of the procedure in this *nára* ritual;[1] although his descriptions are based on observation of these twenty-one years ago, to-day they appear to have been little changed. Although in this volume we are not concerned primarily with the ritual expressions of the Djanggawul myth and songs, it is nevertheless necessary to present briefly the sequence of the ritual and its significance. This will throw the rest of our material into relief, and serve to accentuate basic meanings.[2]

a. The sacred ground is formed, the shade constructed, and various members and ceremonial leaders of the *dua* groups prepare the *rangga* emblems. (See above.) The shade of branches on a framework of wood symbolizes the *ngainmara* or uterus of either Djanggawul Sister (it is said to signify, in one, the uteri of both the younger and older Sisters). The initiates themselves are symbolically *rangga*, or 'the Children of the Sisters'; they represent too the Brother and his companions (who were themselves the Sisters' children). The ground is also a projection of the uterus concept.

The first dances are always those relating to the rise and fall of the surf, and the sound of the sea. These refer to the Djanggawul's paddling across the sea from Bralgu to Port Bradshaw, and are treated in the myth and songs. At intervals throughout this dancing, and during all the *nara* ceremonies, invocations (*bugali*) are called. These, by the terms used, bring into perspective relevant sections of what is being enacted. Furthermore, they are thought to create an aura of sacredness, by spiritually conjuring up the Djanggawul themselves, and their pervading power. All *bugali* invocations are made up of sacred 'inside' words,[3] and numerous examples exist in the song cycles (see, for example, textual material treated separately in Volume 2 of this work). The same participants leave the ground and enter the main camp, and again call out invocations within the hearing of all. Women are said not to know the hidden
796 meanings, but are quite well aware of much of their significance:
562 *vide* Djanggawul myth relating to the loss of the *rangga* and bags by the Sisters. Women feed the men, who then return to the sacred ground. The rôle of the women during this part, and during the whole ritual series, is to provide participants and postulants with food: traditionally, this is cycad palm nut 'bread', supplemented by a variety of edible meats, vegetables and fruits. This is in accordance with the rôle undertaken by the Two Sisters after their

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[1] *op. cit.*, pp. 340–56.

[2] Full descriptions of the *dua nara* will be presented later. Compare the differences between these rituals and those associated with the *kunapipi*: *vide Kunapipi*, Chapter IV.

[3] W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 341: this writer calls these 'power' names.

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1. Postulants emerge from the sacred shade, carrying emblems.

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2. Embracing the *rangga* emblems on the sacred ground.

[Facing p. 16]

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3. *Rangga* folk emerge from the Djanggawul Sisters.

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4. Various phases of the *nara* Djanggawul ceremonies.

[facing p. 17]

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sacred possessions were lost, a rôle which before this loss belonged [562] to the men.

The sequence of the preceding ritual depends on the completion of the many *rangga*, the availability of men and neophytes, the abundance of red ochre and parakeet breast feathers, and the amount of food collected by the women. Although much of the latter is collected throughout the ceremonies, cycad 'bread' is stored, and its preparation commences weeks before the first rituals begin.

Just after the first ceremonies, people from other groups come to the main camp where the *nara* is being held. They have been summoned by specially designed message sticks, feathered string, [202] or miniature copies of *rangga* objects moulded from wild honey wax. Ideally, at this point, all the *rangga* should be ready; but in practice, painting of the objects usually continues for some time, and visitors make and paint additional emblems. All these *rangga* relate to various features of the Djanggawul myth: the *rangga* brought by the Djanggawul; representations of the Djanggawul themselves, or their separate organs; natural phenomena; or totemic objects and species associated with the Djanggawul. Incidentally, the majority of the dances enact something of the behaviour of totemic species, and are carried out with the *rangga*.

When initially, at the onset of the ritual, the *rangga* are removed from the water or mud they are said to be like, firstly, *rangga* removed from the *ngainmara*, and secondly, children removed from the Sisters' wombs. Placing one's arm (or hand) into the water or mud to remove the *rangga* is like the Djanggawul Brother's inserting his hand into the vaginae of the Sisters to remove the children. The sacred clan patterns drawn with ochres on the objects are 796 derived from water marks, which the Djanggawul's original *rangga* 532 acquired during their journey in the bark canoe from Bralgu. Alternatively, these patterns symbolize 'womb marks' on a new-born child. Ochre is symbolic of blood, or the sun's rays, or the warmth of a fire: blood from afterbirth, rays of sun from the *dagu* vagina disc of the sun, and fire (warmth) from the sun. The red breast feathers of the parakeet are symbolic of the sun's rays, of blood, or of an umbilical cord. The reiteration of dancing associated 796 with the sea in every case signifies the great importance of the Djanggawul's landing at Jelangbara, which is one of the most sacred sites associated with these Beings. The singing of water from the sacred waterholes refers to these Beings inserting their *rangga*, and removing them so that water will gush forth; this is symbolic of coitus, and the rise of water is the flow of semen which fertilized both human beings and the earth. It represents, too, the

796 coming of the heavy rains of the wet season, which is viewed as a period of fertilization.[1]

b. The first ceremonies which take place after the arrival of the visitors are related mainly to totemic species, and do not usually involve use of the *rangga* emblems, which are nearly always retained [887] till later ceremonies. Older men organize all these rituals and instruct neophytes. When actors are not carrying out the traditional actions with sufficient skill, they often take over themselves to demonstrate just how it should be done. Both *dua* and *jiritja* neophytes are present. There is also a ceremonial shaving of facial [302] hair; older men leave short tufts or beards that symbolically represent the fringe of the *ngainmara* mat (= pubic hair of the Sisters), and attach red parakeet feathers, like the *rangga* pendant strings. (That is, as the *rangga* have feathered pendants attached to them, so also do men, because they approximate *rangga*—see above.)

c. In the main camp women and young children, and uninitiated youths, gather in a cleared place where they are covered with *ngainmara* mats. This symbolically represents the unborn children of the Djanggawul Sisters, lying in the uteri (or children in the *ngainmara*, or *rangga* hidden in the *ngainmara* or bags; *vide* myth and songs). The men dance from the sacred ground and surround them, carrying spears, womeras and sticks. Invocations are called, most of which refer to places where the Djanggawul Sisters gave birth to the people; they include also sacred 'inside' terms for the *ngainmara*, and for the sacred wells, billabongs or waterholes, for the *rangga* objects, and for the spears and sticks which the men carry. Ancestral names are called too, as well as the 'inside' names of various men taking part in the ritual. Surrounding the people covered by the *ngainmara* mats, the men poke them with their spears and sticks, and they wriggle in response.

The men then dance, calling out sacred *bugali* terms for childbirth, sexual intercourse and so on. Then the women, children and youths emerge from their *ngainmara*, and sit watching the men. Final calling of *bugali* completes the ceremony.

796 831 Interpreting this ritual, Aborigines say that the women crouching under the mats are the children of the Sisters; they are 'poked' by the men and wriggle 'like children in a womb'. The poking with spears and sticks signifies the Djanggawul Brother's penis, which causes the pregnancy of his Sisters and the subsequent 'wriggling' of the children. Alternatively, the spears and sticks symbolize the *rangga*, and the 'poking' their replacement in the *ngainmara*. The casting aside of the *ngainmara* represents the birth of the children of Djanggawul, or conversely, the removal of *rangga* (symbolically,

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[1] *Vide* W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

the birth). Or again, the fact that the women are covered by the 796 *ngainmara* refers to the Djanggawul's placing all females, at birth, 831 beneath the *ngainmara* for protection. The men are left out because they were originally placed by the Djanggawul in the coarse grass, and were unprotected: *vide* myth, Chapters 2 and 3. Underlying this ceremony is the idea that the symbolic act of childbirth will be imitated and repeated in real life, so that universal fertility may result.

d. More totemic dances take place on the sacred ground, and 796 continue for some weeks. Various sections of the myth are enacted; 535 for example, there are all the natural species seen at each place through which the Djanggawul passed (see myth). Two or three weeks may be given over to the performance of all the events that happened at one place. During all these ceremonies, the women provide food for the men. Outstanding dances are those of the *djanda* goanna, the *djalga* water goanna, the *lindaridj* parakeet, and spring water, the latter deriving from the *rangga*'s being plunged into the ground by the Djanggawul. At this stage certain *rangga* are used in dancing or posturing. The major, or fundamental *rangga* brought by the Djanggawul from Bralgu, are used by individual dancers, or by groups of actors who writhe along the ground with the *rangga* clasped to their bodies or held in ritual ways. All the dancers emerge from the sacred shade in which the *rangga* are kept, to the accompaniment of singing, or simply to the rhythm of the clapping sticks. Some of the most important emerge in silence; intense reverence is shown in all ritual in which the *rangga* are used.

e. Women gather around a tree or forked stick in the main camp. Men come down from the sacred ground, and the women answer their ritual cries. The ceremonial leader climbs the tree or forked stick and to the accompaniment of clapping sticks invokes the sacred *bugali*. In the western variant of this (that is, the Gunwinggu *mareiin* cult), all women and neophytes are 'steamed' over a special structure, but this does not occur in eastern Arnhem Land. The women, all painted, dance around the tree as the invocations are called. Nearly all the *bugali* are related to places and to totemic species. Pairs of dancers then enact various totemic creatures, dancing near the tree or forked stick and in front of the women. That completes the ceremony. This is continued for a period until finally the men come at night to the main camp bearing flaming torches.

The fire symbolizes that which the Sisters thought had destroyed their sacred bags containing the *rangga*, only to find later that they had been stolen by the men (see Chapter 2). Further, it signifies parakeet feathers, or the warmth of the sun, which is not present during the night.

Significance of the Djanggawul

796 535 The women dancing around the tree or forked stick represent the Djanggawul Sisters, and the tree is the *djuda* tree (of life-giving properties) and also *rangga* (that is, tree = forked-stick = *djuda rangga* = penis). They dance around, inserting their sacred *ganinjari rangga* yam sticks into the ground, so that water may gush forth (that is, symbolic coitus). The dancing of totemic species before the women at the tree or forked stick is like the dancing by the Djanggawul women in their own sacred shade, within the hearing of the men, but without their participation (*vide* myth). Later the men reverse this situation, and it is the men who dance in their own shade, while the Two Sisters go some distance away.

f. At this juncture there is a repetition of the *ngainmara* ritual, when all the women, children and youths are hidden under the mats. The men dance around them, carrying out the same actions as in section *c*, and the ritual has the same significance.

g. More totemic dances are carried out on the sacred ground, particularly in conjunction with *rangga* objects. Young neophytes see only the secondary *rangga* and totem dances; for all these are graded, and it depends on a man's age, his influence, and his degree of acceptance into the cult, whether he sees the really 'high' or most revered *rangga*. The 'high' *rangga* (particularly the elaborately decorated *djuda*, *djanda*, *ganinjari* and *mauwulan*) are lovingly handled, caressed and sung over by ceremonial leaders. Minor *rangga* and dancing viewed by neophytes bring to them simultaneously a series of associated tabus, relating to eating meat or flesh of the totems which they view, and obliges them to present gifts later on to the leaders. Neophytes, when watching these dances, are usually painted [302] with sacred clan patterns. 'They are painted like dead men, for their spirit must enter the eternal stream in which the Djanggawul are an ever-present influence'—an eternal stream, moreover, that has no limitations of time or space, all being merged into one: the Creative Beings themselves, the *wongar* Dreaming Spirits and totems, the ancestors, the recently dead and the living.

796 *h.* The next ritual, a group effort, should normally complete the *nara* rituals. This is the ceremonial bathing by men, women and children. In western Arnhem Land, in the *mareiin* rituals (counterpart of the *nara*) it is the terminating rite, but sometimes is omitted altogether. At Milingimbi it may be a terminating rite, or others may follow it. At Yirrkalla it may be omitted altogether, or used as a terminating rite, or it may be followed by further ceremonies. This ceremonial bathing may take place in a billabong, water-hole, river, or in the adjacent sea; that is, it does not seem to be important whether fresh or salt water is used.

796 535 Men, representing geese or diving ducks, dance down to the

bank of the billabong or beach; then, followed by all the other 796 members of the camp, they plunge into the water. Each person 535 washes himself (or herself), and invocations are called. They all emerge, and the men dance various totemic fish.

This ritual act symbolically represents firstly the *rangga* (= people) 796 who become wet while being brought in the Djanggawul's bark canoe from Bralgu. Secondly they, the people, are likened to *rangga*, being plunged into the water (that is, when *rangga* are not in use, or at the conclusion of the rituals, they are hidden in the water or mud, and the people's bathing represents completion of the *nara*). It has also been interpreted to mean that the Djanggawul enter 796 the water to collect fish in their net: *vide* myth, when the Two 831 Sisters enter the water and, opening their legs, bend forward to use them as a fish-catchment. To catch fish in this way, using one's legs as a net, is, moreover, symbolic of coitus: the fish caught are penes (penis of the Djanggawul Brother).[1] Thus, men perform the fish dances after emerging from the water. It also represents the *rangga*'s being inserted into sacred waterholes and billabongs, as was the habit of the Djanggawul; 'they put these *rangga* into wells and so on, leaving them for the new generation.'

Warner[2] mentions that the ritual bathing represents the removal 796 of 'semen'; that is, through the 'incestuous rape of the younger 831 Sister'. This latter conception is not found in any of our versions. 114 Nevertheless, water may signify semen, and thus be a symbol of fertility, just as is the 'foam' of the sea mentioned in the Song Series. The assumption that the women cleanse themselves by washing[3] does not follow from our versions; for all people bathe, not only the women. The lay interpretation of any ritual bathing or washing, whether involving complete immersion or just 'baptism' by anointing with water (also fairly common), is cleansing or purification, in the sense that the sacred aura (which is ritually contagious, and can do harm if not controlled immediately after a ritual), is, for the time being at least, diverted back into the 'eternal stream' (see above). All sacred clan patterns painted on men's bodies, and the complementary sacred patterns on the breasts of women, are removed in this way, thus signifying that the *nara* is nearing completion.

i. Again the 'higher' totem dances and *rangga* emblems are shown 796 to various neophytes in different stages of initiation. All these ceremonies are revelatory in character. These rituals then are divided into two main parts—1, those rituals shown to the younger

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[1] Also used in everyday speech to refer to coitus—thus a woman 'nets a fish'.

[2] W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[3] W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–4.

796 neophytes, and, 2, those shown only to the older, fully initiated men who are intimately acquainted with all phases of the *nara* and of the Djanggawul doctrine. These latter rituals, involving meditation and theological discussions, are the most impressive of all. At this time, too, the sacred feathered string is removed and [616 presented to members of the opposite moiety, as well as to younger 431] members in the right line of descent from the ceremonial leaders; that is, a *gudara* (sister's daughter's son) gives to a *mari* (mother's mother's brother) or vice versa.

796 *j.* This is followed, soon afterwards, by sacramental eating of the sacred cycad palm nut 'bread'. All the preparation of this 178 'bread' has been undertaken by the women. It is taken out to the sacred ground where it is sung over, and the sacred *bugali* invoked. All the *bugali* of the country through which the Djanggawul passed, as well as their *rangga*, are called. The actual partaking of the 'bread' may be accompanied by the removal of feathered strings from the *rangga* emblems. This symbolizes the meeting of the Djanggawul with Buralindjingu at Dambojowoi (*vide* myth) when, after the Sisters had had their clitorises foreshortened (that is, the removing of the feathered strings from the *rangga*), they were treated as *galibingu* novices, and palm nut 'bread' was eaten sacramentally. But sacred 'bread' has an additional significance. It is a symbol of all food resources; and when the sacred *bugali* are invoked over it, it becomes possessed of a sacred quality which approximates it to a *rangga* emblem. The eating of it (as a *rangga* emblem) means that initiates are absorbing the sacred qualities of their *rangga* becoming themselves 'more *rangga*', more fully absorbed into the Djanggawul ideology. Symbolically they enter (*rangga* = people) the uteri of the Sisters, so that they may subsequently be re-born, when they leave the sacred ground and terminate the *nara*. The eating of the bread creates a strong sacred bond of friendship between all participants: they become as one.

There are, however, many restrictions relating to the eating of this bread. Not all initiates eat from the same bread, but all those eating must be closely related to one another; for *bugali* names have been 'sung' into the bread, and their power remains in it, and cannot be indiscriminately passed around.

796 After final painting of initiates' bodies, the *nara* is brought to a close.

796 We see from these examples that ritual is the outward expression of the Djanggawul myth. It is primarily a re-enactment of the 182 principal features of the Brother and Sisters' original journey through north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land, and an

important form of expressing these is the totemic dancing in 796
conjunction with the sacred *rangga*. All these are correlated with the
basic theme. The main structure of the ritual refers symbolically 182
to the sexual sequence which culminates in the act of childbirth;
and this, in a variety of forms, is the focal point. It is completely
orthodox, for in it is contained the core, the basic thesis, of the
Djanggawul myth. By re-enacting the primal birth of their ancestors,
the Arnhem Landers convey the sense of 'tribal' (clan or
linguistic group) continuity: a continuity, moreover, which cannot
be broken unless the actual performance of the *nara* rituals is interrupted
or halted. That such an event as abandonment of the *nara* 796
could occur, *cannot* enter the minds of initiates, any more than we
could fully envisage the total collapse of our society and culture. 182
On the fringe of alien contact, of course, in towns or on mission 178
stations, this possibility may vaguely enter the minds of some;
but even these, though they may have taken part in only one *nara*,
cannot consider their utter abandonment. If the *nara* are performed
more irregularly to-day than two decades ago, the intention is
always present in the Aborigines' minds that, if possible, they
will be performed more frequently in the future. The Ancestral
Beings will continue to live, so say old informants, even if the life
that people know to-day should disappear altogether. The Gods
are not dependent on man for their survival, and the 'eternal
Dreaming stream' cannot be stemmed.

Upon this thesis rests the social aspect of the Djanggawul, for 182
re-enactment of the initial birth of the people expresses their inherent 796
fertility, which by the grace of the Djanggawul can be
diffused to embrace a concept of universal fertility. Moreover, it
expresses the seasonal rhythm. The coming of the wet season,
with its rains, germinates the soil; foliage and vegetable matter,
and all the natural species, 'are re-born'. Because of the Djanggawul,
the natural resources of the land are ensured. Man, as a social
being, may continue the life he knows, in the way dictated traditionally
by the Gods. He is assured of survival.

the warmth of the sun, which made it possible for all things to live 773
and grow. 831

Apart from the significance of the myth as a whole, there are several interesting features. Throughout this version the incestuous relations of the Djanggawul Brother with his Sisters are acknowledged, and repeatedly mentioned. It is said that when the Djanggawul roamed Arnhem Land, there was no marriage system. The Djanggawul themselves possessed no moieties; it was only later, when their adventures became a matter of mythology, that they were classified as belonging to the *dua* moiety. Informants point out that the Djanggawul made their own laws, and are acknowledged as law-givers. It was through their incestuous intercourse that the Two Sisters were able to produce human beings, to populate the country through which they passed. Even at that early period, the
importance of sexual intercourse in relation to pregnancy must [842]
have been realized, for the part the male plays in this activity is heavily stressed: the emphasis is such that it cannot be a mere projection of present-day knowledge.

Later in their travels, however, when the Djanggawul arrived at Blue Mud Bay and also at Elcho Island,[1] the Brother seems to have altered his attitude towards incest, and to have 'punished' his sons, by circumcision, for having coitus with their sisters.

It was, nevertheless, the Djanggawul themselves, answerable to 773
no one, who determined their own law, and continued to cohabit together. The present marriage rules of local Aborigines are said to have been instituted by the Djanggawul; apart from sacred ritual, they created and gave to their people the complete structure of their social organization, with its associated culture. Some Aborigines, however, while acknowledging the primary importance of the Djanggawul, hold that other Ancestral Beings and Spirits were responsible for instituting certain features. Other religious cults have indeed come into being, among them the important Laintjung-Banaitja constellation. The Djanggawul, however, are considered responsible for establishing the fundamental pattern of this Aboriginal society.

To-day, when that society and culture are taken for granted by 773
its members, the major importance of the Djanggawul lies in their
sacred ritual and in their doctrine, which, regarded superficially, 182
comprises merely the outline of their travels around the Arnhem 778
Land coast. Underlying that story, however, is a vast wealth of 796
symbolism and allusion, which will become more apparent after we have presented the great song cycle. It is this symbolism which is expressed in sacred ritual to-day, finding expression in song and

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[1] *Vide* Footnote 3, p. 45.

113 dance, and in the *rangga* emblems and sacred baskets. The *rangga*
182 poles, although modern in manufacture and decoration, are still
178 the 'same' as those used by the Djanggawul, and contain the very
196 spirit that possessed them in that mythological time: they retain
the sacred aura of the Djanggawul.

There is no explanation in the myth for the elongated penis and
113 clitorises of the Djanggawul,[1] except that this special feature makes
them unique among Ancestral Beings and Spirits of this area.
When they had been cut, the severed fragments were treated as
rangga, or as feathered pendant strings. Some informants insist
that the original *rangga* mentioned in the myth were actually the
genitalia of the Djanggawul.

Another interesting point raised in the myth is that the Sisters,
113 when having their clitorises cut by their Brother,[2] were treated as
304 circumcisional novices. Immediately afterwards followed the
circumcision ceremony at Elcho Island, said to be instituted by the
Djanggawul Brother himself. To-day, however, no circumcision
ceremony is associated with the *dua nara* rituals; this feature is relegated to the *djunggawon* and *mandiela*, sponsored by the Wauwalak mythology.[3] The *dua nara* is not age-grading as the myth suggests; but since these rituals appear to be more purely indigenous than, for example, the Wauwalak ceremonies, it is possible that they were originally designed for this purpose. In the course of time the initiatory elements have disappeared from the ritual, but remain in the myth; and to-day the ceremony is revelatory in function.

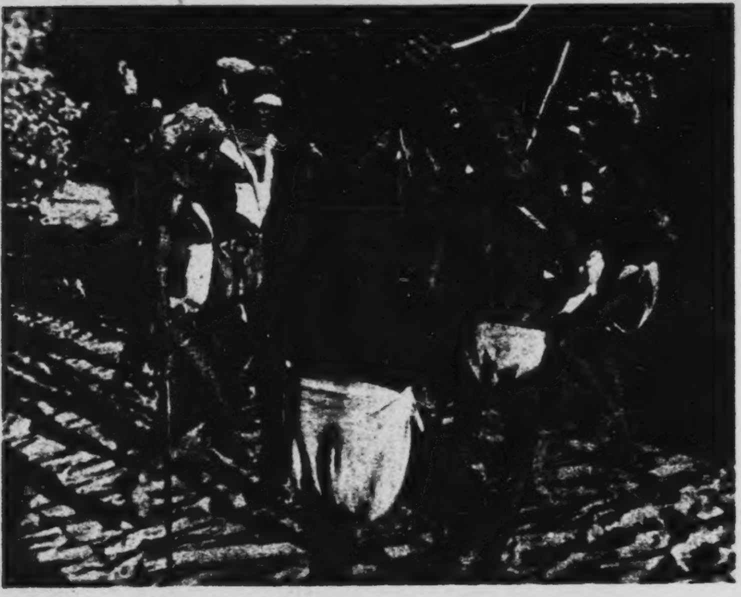
113 Some inconsistencies appear in the myth, but this is not unusual
in mythology which has been handed down through the generations by word of mouth. It is something which must be considered: we must allow for differences in theme, for a variety of versions, and for a considerable range in interpretation. Mythology presented verbally in story or song, no matter how conventional the structure of the society, shows a certain amount of flexibility, since the only means of presenting, and thus of preserving it, must be the individual members of that society. The narrator of a story may stress some particular aspect, elaborating it perhaps to the detriment of others. This process, gradual as it is, has cumulative effects; when, as apparently here, it has been continuing for centuries, we may suppose that the myth, for example the Djanggawul, has altered considerably from its original form. This must be taken into account in our analysis of the myth, and in our interpretation of its meaning.

The fact that the Aborigines pay so much attention to tradition

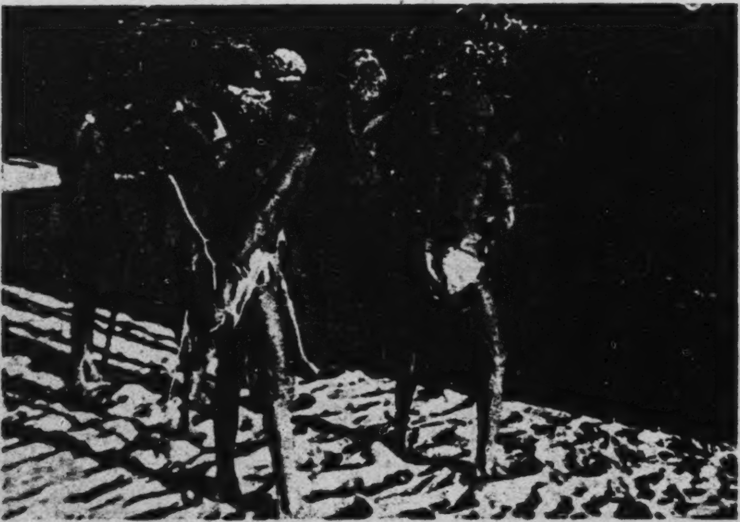
[1] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters I *c* and IV.

[2] The symbolic significance of these has been treated in the Song Cycle.

[3] *Vide* R. Berndt, *op. cit.*, Chapters I *c* and IV.



9. Postulants dancing the Incoming Tide, entering the sacred ground.



10. Calling of invocations before the emergence of sacred emblems.

[facing p.81]

Comments on Part One of the Songs

This subject is treated in some considerable detail in the secular Bralgu Song Cycle, associated with the Morning Star ceremony (used during mortuary rituals, for Bralgu is the *dua* moiety home of the dead), when a long pole with string and feathered balls is used, and dancing imitates that of the Bralgu Spirits. 539

The paddling of the Djanggawul in their canoe, and the roar of the sea, are re-enacted in the *dua nara* (see Chapter 1). A spear-thrower is dragged along the ground symbolizing the paddling. The dancers cry *ei ei a:!* which is the sound of the sea, *a:!* being the dull roar as the waves break. Then they lift up their legs, representing the rising waves which carry the canoe to their crests (line 24, Song 1) and then collapse downwards. 539 796 535

Lines 31–2, Song 1, refer to the *ngainmara* and to the *rangga*, which are carried in the bottom of the canoe (*vide* Song 26, in reference to their being sodden). The *rangga* are stored within the mat (= uterus, with children within), and include the *mauwulan*, the yam stick, *djuda* and *djanda* poles. As the canoe rolls, they move about in the mat and rattle (line 32). 539

In Song 2 (lines 5, 6 and 7) the green-backed turtle is said to possess a dilly bag: this may be seen from the mark of this bag on the turtle's under shell (its 'chest'); it holds its bag under one flipper, as a man holds his dilly bag when walking or dancing. The cuttlefish is also said to represent the bag of this turtle. 825

Many references are made throughout the songs, in this section of the cycle, to the Baijini folk (for example, Song 4, line 3)—that is, 'Paddling fast as we smell the Baijini from far away.' Several words used in the text are said to be directly associated with these alien people of the *jiritja* moiety: for example, *buragoimin*, 'sea smell' (line 3), which is also said to mean the smell of the smoke from the Baijini fires, at their settlement at Port Bradshaw. The Djanggawul see the smoke rising in the distance, and know that they must be drawing close to the mainland. The Two Sisters talk with their Brother. 'What do we see? What blocks (or obstructs) our passage? There are strangers in that place! They are blocking us, so we shall sing about them. But as soon as we reach Jelangbara (Port Bradshaw) we will move the Baijini: they can't stop, where we intend to have our sacred camp.' As they draw closer, they hear this word, *buragoimin*, drifting over to them, and for that reason it is included in the song.

Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there is a certain amount of rationalization here. The Djanggawul are frequently said to have been the first 'human' beings to land on the mainland; and yet this contradiction appears in the actual traditional texts, which infer that the *jiritja* Baijini have already settled at Port

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11. The Djanggawul Beings on arrival at Jelangbara, holding *rangga* emblems.

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12. A ceremonial leader (Manimbar) represents the Djanggawul Brother as he tastes water on arriving at Port Bradshaw.

15. Calling invocations before the sacred shade.

16. The Goanna emblem emerges from the shade.

[p. 92(a)]

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17. Various sacred shades, with the Djanggawul.

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18. *Nara* postulants representing male and female Goanna.

[p. 92(D)]

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19. The Djanggawul Goanna emerges from the shade.

20. Postulants in stylized attitudes, with Goanna Tail emblem.

[p. 92 (E)]

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21. Clapping sticks and blowing the sacred Julunggul drone pipe, above the posturing sacred Goanna.

22. The Julunggul Python emerges from the sacred shade: postulants lie on their backs, with the emblem resting upon them.

[p. 92(F)]

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25. Postulants with Goanna Tail *rangga*.

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26. Removal of *rangga* from the *jiritja* moiety shade.

[p. 92 (H)]

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27. Dancing with the *jiritja* moiety *rangga*.

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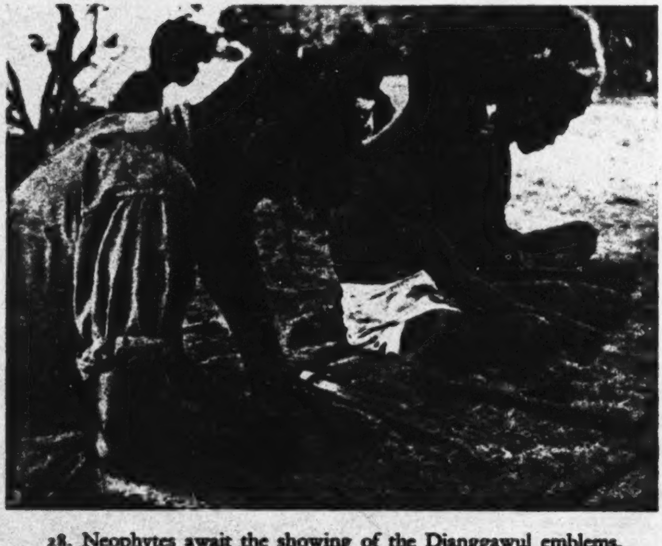

28. Neophytes await the showing of the Djanggawul emblems.

[p. 92 (I)]

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29. Meditation before the sacred Goanna Tail *rangga*.

[p. 92(J)]

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Epilogue

562 rôle, and the miracle of childbirth is hers alone. Upon that simple
778 but fundamental thesis much of this traditional epic is based.

Woman's participation in the *dua nara* is thus both logical and necessary. Each sex, however, has its own part to play; and the Djanggawul cycle has indicated not only the physical but also the culturally defined ritual differences between men and women.

In this volume, when describing the beliefs and practices associated
794 with the Djanggawul cycle and the performance of *nara* ritual, we
796 have purposely employed the term cult. This does not mean,
however, that it is controlled or shared by a select group, the
184 acceptance of members within the order being determined by
totemic, clan or linguistic group affinities, by status, prestige or
economic position. This is not so. The Djanggawul cult is one of
a number existing contemporaneously in this region, each having
its own mythology and associated ceremonies. All these cults are
in some degree interrelated, and all male members of the society
are eligible as active participants. Boys and young men pass automatically through the age-grading ceremonies of the *djunggawon*,
kunapipi and *ngurlmag*. In addition to these, there are certain revelatory rituals, which are not initiatory. The extent of a man's active
794 participation in the latter, and his eligibility for leadership, depend
796 upon several factors—for example, on his moiety and kinship
554 affiliations, and on whether or not the cult's mythology and ritual
belong to his particular linguistic group or clan, and to his father's
184 family. Such factors, however, never operate to debar him altogether,
and in many cases his relationship to the cult through his mother's
616 family may have a compensatory effect. The same conditions apply
in the case of the major religious cults, the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety
nara. All men may be accepted as initiands to the *nara* ceremonies,
and all may subsequently become neophytes; but the measure of
their active participation and leadership depends on the factors
mentioned above. Only a *dua* moiety man, belonging to the most
powerful *dua* linguistic group and clan, can rise to ceremonial
headmanship in the *dua nara*; and here, too, the principle of descent
may operate. The writer's main informants in recording and discussing the Djanggawul songs, mythology and so on were *dua*
headmen, assisted by other men who were correspondingly 'graded'
in the ritual sphere.

533 Comparison of the myth (Chapter 2) with the Songs reveals certain
773 inconsistencies. These may perhaps stem from the fact that the
myth is an over-all sketch of the Djanggawul's journey and adventures; it allows rather more latitude and scope to individual narrators,
and does not purport to describe various incidents in any great
detail. On the whole, it does agree basically with the Songs; but

619 184 with other adjacent groups. On the border line between western and eastern Arnhem Land there are tribes affiliated with the eastern people, but retaining their own distinct cultural pattern. Apart from the linguistic variations between the eastern and western groups, and the tribal organisation of the one and the clan-linguistic group set-up of the other, the principal difference [611] lies in the eastern form of mainly patrilineal descent and the western pattern of descent through the mother.

184 616 The moiety is the most important feature in the social organisation of the Wulamba people of the east and south-east. It serves to classify under these two main headings all clans and linguistic groups, the known universe, and the whole life of the people, and affiliates all those belonging to the same moiety. The moieties are exogamous, and are thus the basis upon which marriage rules depend.

184 615 616 611 In western Arnhem Land we find the moiety-phratry arrangement (related to the totem) now influenced from the south by the subsection system, which is widely spread throughout Aboriginal Australia. Another feature here is the *nan*[illegible]*amamaidj*, which establishes a child's affinity with his father's group. This, together with tribal and linguistic membership, is patrilineal; [617] but the descent of the moiety, phratry (and totem), and subsection, is matrilineal.

184 617 601 In eastern Arnhem Land the subsections have not yet been fully co-ordinated with the kinship structure, and many of the older people do not use them. Normally, however, the subsections are based on a system of marriage and descent, and are essentially a matter of kinship organisation. They group various relatives together under one term, in such a way that for general purposes all kinship terms are reduced to eight; and since there are eight divisions in this subsection system, four belong to one moiety, and four to the other.[1]

221 The eastern Arnhem Landers possess certain fundamental features in common with most other Australian Aboriginal communities. Away from European settlements, for instance, they are hunters and collectors who must forage for their food. On 221 the northern and eastern coast of Arnhem Land food is certainly ●796 776 abundant and varied, but its constant supply depends on the

rhythm of the seasons and (so these people believe) on the 221
mythical characters of the "Eternal Dreaming" period. To ensure 796
an adequate and constant supply of animal and vegetable food 776
the eastern Arnhem Landers rely on their great ceremonial cycles – the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi*, *ngurlmag*, and the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety *nara*. These rituals are connected with the most important Ancestral Beings (like Djanggawul, Wauwalak, Laindjung, Banaidja and Baijini) and serve as the basis of the indigenous religion.

In the west the pattern is much the same. The Ancestral or Spirit Beings have different names, but their function is similar to that of their eastern variants. There is, for instance, a Fertility Mother named Amungundji, or Waramurunggoindju. With her husband, Wuraggag, she is the guardian of and the essence behind all the sacred ritual, such as the *maraiin*, and the age-grading *ubar* ceremonies. The ceremonies have also a mass of separate mythology, associated with Jurawadpad, the Snake man, but they are indirectly associated with the Fertility Mother.

All this ritual, however, is not concerned merely with the pro- 796
vision of food. Its purpose is primarily to ensure the continuation of the human species, and the increase of all other animals, birds, fish, vegetables and so on is a secondary matter. It is concerned with the fructification of all living things, of which human beings (in their own estimation, at least) are the most important.

We cannot discuss here even briefly the doctrines and ritual expressions of the various religious cults of western and eastern Arnhem Land: for although a fundamental thesis is common to them all, there are many local manifestations. That is to say, there are a number of different religious cults, each having its special mythology associated with Creative Beings; and their ceremonies, although often similar, differ in many respects. Some are concerned principally with the initiation of youths into the adult ceremonial sphere, and their gradual acceptance into the realm of the sacred. As a young man grows older, and passes through successive stages in his initiation, the religious life of his elders is slowly revealed to him. These particular series are termed age-grading rituals. But there are other ceremonies in which only fully initiated men may participate, and whose significance is

196 simply religious. Women too have their part — and a vital one — to play in the ritual life.

173 In eastern Arnhem Land, the most important of all rituals relate to the Djanggawul, a Brother and two Sisters and their companion who in the mythological era came across the sea from an unidentified country far to the north-east. On their journey (so the long song-cycle relates) they stayed for a time at an island called Bralgu, later the home of the *dua* moiety dead, located somewhere beyond Groote Eylandt. Then, on the shining path first of the Morning Star and presently of the rising Sun, they travelled in their bark canoe to land at Port Bradshaw on the Arnhem Land coast. With them they brought their special sacred objects. The Djanggawul Brother had long painted and feathered poles, of phallic significance. Some he plunged into the ground so that water gushed forth; and others, when planted, sprang into living trees. These life-giving sticks were kept hidden for much of the time in a plaited conical mat, a symbolic uterus.

As they travelled, the Sisters gave birth to many people (symbolised, again, by the sacred poles). These were the ancestors of the present-day Aborigines, for before the Djanggawul came there were only spirit beings in Arnhem Land.

At first, we are told, the Sisters alone possessed all the sacred objects, the rituals and songs, which they had brought with them from their distant homeland: the symbols they used, and their actions in dancing, centred about the important cycle of sexual intercourse, pregnancy, and birth. The Djanggawul Brother and his companion had nothing. One day therefore, while the women were out collecting shellfish, the men stole the sacred objects and took them back to their own camp, and there they began the special dancing and singing. But the Sisters, when they discovered their loss, did not protest very strongly. Now, they agreed, the men could attend to the rituals on their behalf, doing most of the "work", while they themselves devoted more time to raising their families (in the way of Fertility Mothers).

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196 This division still holds in the eastern Arnhem Land today, where women play a less active rôle in sacred ritual than do their menfolk. Today, too, replicas of their sacred objects are treated reverently and surrounded with ritual and symbolism. The long

poles, painted with conventional designs and hung with vividly- 778
feathered strings, are stored in a special hut on the sacred dancing 796
ground. From this hut, the uterus, men emerge with them to posture and dance, while women also dance in the main camp: and the ceremonies of this cycle conclude with an elaborate bathing ritual in which both men and women take part.

The Djanggawul rituals belong to the *dua* moiety. People of 796
the *jiritja* moiety have some share in them through their mothers 616
and mothers' brothers; but they have their own ceremonies and
beliefs as well. Laindjung, a counterpart to the Djanggawul but 773
much less important, also came out of the sea to the Arnhem
Land coast from somewhere away to the east, and through his 177
son Banaidja established his mythology and rituals. Many such Ancestral or Spirit Beings are said to have reached the north coast of Australia by sea (see Chapter 5), and perhaps beliefs of this sort reflect some early experiences of alien contact, or some incidents which served as focal points for the diffusion of alien ideas. In western Arnhem Land, too, mythology reveals a strong alien orientation — although this feature may have been superimposed in later years as a result of Indonesian intrusion. Thus the great mother Waramurunggoindju and her husband Wuraggag (now the landmark Tor Rock), like Jurawadpad and most of their contemporaries, landed at various places on the Coburg Peninsula after travelling from some far island identified, today, as "Macassar".

Nevertheless, there has been inland influence as well. The 796
Djanggawul *nara* ceremonies, shorn of much of their mytho- 177
logical significance, have spread right across to the borders of Western Arnhem Land. The two Wauwalak Sisters came overland from the south to the northern Arnhem Land coast, where they inspired the three age-grading ceremonies: the *djunggawon*, associated with circumcision, and known but not performed in western Arnhem Land (where most of the tribes are non-circumcising); the *kunapipi*, more recently introduced into eastern Arnhem Land; and the *ngurlmag*, rarely performed today, with its probable origin the *ubar* hollow-log initiation rituals of western Arnhem Land. The Kunapipi has been introduced into

796 177 western Arnhem Land, too, coming up from the south and the south-east almost to the coast near Goulburn Islands.

778 The north-eastern people, like their western neighbours, pay great attention to the outward expression of their religious ideas, to provide a guide to ritual behaviour and to impress certain concepts on the minds of postulants. Their sacred objects do not consist only of those introduced by Djanggawul, Laindjung and other Beings. In the *nara* and other rituals many beautifully made *rangga* are used, some associated with natural species or with totemic features, others with human organs and ancestral people. 778 532 Usually conventionalised, they are made from hard or soft woods, cane or paperbark, sometimes bound with jungle-tree twine, and decorated with clan totemic designs and colourful feathered strings. Human figures carved from blocks of wood are painted and ornamented in a similar way. Many other sacred objects are used in the Wauwalak ceremonies—the *ubar* drum of the *ngurlmag*, for example, the tall grass-bound *Jelmalandji* posts of the *kunapipi*, and the long *julunggul* "trumpets" and dancing posts of the *djunggawon*. In western Arnhem Land, religious feeling finds concrete expression in the varied shapes and designs of the *maraiin* objects, which include representations of birds and animals. Their form and workmanship are usually pleasing to the eye, but to the craftsman this is of secondary importance.[2]

771 Let us summarise the place of indigenous religion among the people of Arnhem Land.

In Aboriginal societies throughout Australia, this religious faith has been the mainstay of social life, giving meaning and background to behaviour patterns and institutions. Most people believed unquestioningly in the essential "rightness" of their way of life. Everything was explained, each member of the community had a definite place in the scheme of things, and the future was well determined.

771 178 Today, however, the Aborigines find that conditions are rapidly changing. The pressure of contact is greater now than it has been in the past. Beliefs that they have held for centuries are being questioned, and new ways and ideas are being enforced.

182 a man's or woman's own horde with whom he or she comes
431 into daily contact. They extend also to members of
461 other hordes and are emphasised strongly on occasions
602 when people from distant groups to whom the kinship
[574] organisation is extended, come as visitors. For a young man, such obligations are intense, and to discharge them he is obliged to keep up an almost continuous stream of presents, which entails constant work.

182 With each successive stage of initiation it is obligatory
431 for him to make gifts to the old men of the clan group into
461
626 which he is being initiated. This may become very irksome
561 and may even reach a stage when no matter how hard he works he is unable completely to discharge all his obligations, so laying himself open to the fear of reprisals, such as
[754] visitation by *ḳälḳa* (sorcerers who kill by the use of magic) or by other agencies. Fear of the use of secret methods of reprisal is a very real one, and provides, for a man, one of the strongest inducements to work, to keep pace with his obligations, and so to give no cause for resentment.

431 In those ceremonies such as the *ḳunabibbi* and *ŋulmarḳ*
561 which transcend clan and tribal boundaries, and are not
● 796
614 restricted to, or regarded as the proprietary right of, a
778 small group such as a clan, but are practised widely throughout the territory, these obligations are less onerous. In others, of the type called *märdai'in*, the initiation ceremonies carried out by each clan or group of clans sharing the same totems, at which its sacred totems are revealed, the burden of the gifts or payments is a heavy one. The internal solidarity of these small groups is intense, and their *märdai'in* or *räŋga*—the secret name for the objects which represent the *mälli*, the "shade" or "spirit" of the totemic ancestors themselves—are jealously guarded. These *räŋga* are very sacred and are regarded as dangerous to the

uninitiated because they are endowed with a force called 431 561
marr (*mana*)[18], and large presentations of food and *gerri* are 614
obligatory to all those to whom these *räŋga* have been 778 796
revealed and who thus share in the solidarity of the group.

Such obligations recur at every stage in each initiation, and following upon each ceremony a man must make a big ceremonial presentation of objects of value, *gerri*, such as fine spears, belts of human hair and especially gifts of the type that are appropriate to the geographical quarter (*kumur*, page 67), within the ceremonial exchange cycle in which his clan territory lies.

If a man comes from a group some distance away, and 431
the occasion is an important one, a dugout canoe (*lippa* 554
lippa) may be presented. This is a big gift and highly [435]
valued. It is important to realise that there is no attempt
to assess the value of these things but rather to create a
feeling of goodwill, to leave behind a good impression,
which a man knows will enhance his prestige and react
in his favour in future transactions. He knows also that he
builds up goodwill by a reputation for generosity and that
this in turn may mean that he will be selected as the [796]
recipient of the *wärna*, the armlets of opossum fur string [777]
or *lindiritj* (Lorikeet's feathers) and other paraphernalia

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[18] *Marr* is a kind of spiritual force or "power" very like the Polynesian concept of *mana*, which underlies social and ceremonial life. It occurs in all sacred objects and is the "force" or "power" which makes them dangerous to the uninitiated or profane and a source of strength and "power" to the fully initiated members of the clan or other organisation. *Marr* is not strength or power, danger or sacredness, alone, although it may be each and any of these things. It is the power which makes a *räŋga*, a totemic object, sacred, which makes a dead body dangerous, and which brings good or bad "luck" in hunting. *Marr* is the force which makes a man *tjämbait*, *i.e.* successful or "lucky" in the pursuit of game.

431 which are stripped from the *räŋga* and presented to special
554 individuals after the conclusion of the ceremony, and which
[777] carry *marr*, confer prestige on the recipient and bring him
[796] "good luck" (*tjämbait*) in hunting.

431 But in any case, failure to discharge the obligations which
554 he incurs at these times would be unthinkable, for a man
626 believes that he is in a state of danger from *marr* (*mana*),
182 and that ritual visitation will follow if he does not pro-
461 pitiate the group concerned. On this account, and because
he would suffer in prestige by failure to discharge these
obligations, they are not incurred lightly. This was brought
home to me vividly in Arnhem Land when Raiwälla of
Mildjiŋi clan, a man who was with me for years, and who
accompanied me everywhere, asked me not to take him
with me when I was invited to *ŋarra* (*märdai'in*) cere-
monies. He explained, in some distress, that because of his
association with me, he had been invited to attend many
more *ŋarra* than would normally have been the case and was
incurring thereby obligations to make *tadoit* payments
(page 40) of food and *gerri* (material wealth) which he
would not be able to discharge. Although the people knew
that he was far from his own territory and understood his
position, and although they assured him that he need not
make any return presentations, he would not accept this.
If he had done so he would not only have been in danger
from *marr*, which had not been returned with the cere-
monial presentation food or *gerri*, but he would have lost
182 face and been placed in a position of inferiority. The urge,
431 the "drive", furnished by these psychological attitudes in a
554 fully organised aboriginal society are more forceful than any
461 material urge. They far outweigh any desire to gain pos-
sessions and are the most important motive forces behind
much of the hunting, and the organised and sustained work

which goes on. But while these obligations impose a heavy 182 431
burden, especially upon a young man who must attend a 461
long series of ceremonies with a vista of payments to be met, 554
the ceremonies in turn confer some benefit upon him, [796]
although this may be indirect. They carry increased social [561]
status and prestige which in turn bring gradual liberation
from some of the irksome tabus which influence almost
every act of a young man.

Although on these occasions the immediate burden of 182
gathering vegetable food falls on his female relatives, 431
especially upon his mother and sisters, this does not relieve 461
the initiate of his own personal obligations, but rather 561
intensifies them. He must now redouble his efforts in [593]
hunting to enable him in turn to supply his women relations
with fish, kangaroo, "sugar bag" or wild honey, in
order to retain their goodwill. A man's success as a hunter
depends not only on his ability to stalk and his skill with
the spear but also on his capacity to make, and to maintain
in serviceable condition, his hunting weapons, his fishing
lines and nets and sometimes also a canoe. So initiation,
especially initiation into the jealously-guarded clan totems
(*märdai'in*) of the small groups which characterise the
social organisation of North-eastern Arnhem Land, with
their intense solidarity and quick resentment,[10] sets up a
long train of social obligations—each with a definite
economic import—each requiring gift and counter gift, and
furnishing the motive for work, the urge for production
both of food and *gerri*.

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[10] Just as generous presentations of *gerri* (material wealth) and [578]
ŋäta (food) promote goodwill, so tardiness in the discharge of these [628]
obligations may lead to avenging expeditions and interclan feuds.
A man who is unpopular, or who is notorious for his carelessness in [626]
these matters is more likely to be named as the victim when a
scapegoat is sought to avenge a death or wrong.

first phrase means "return from hands", i.e. from handling 431
the bones, the second "return from mouth". Payments in 764
each case are made to the other near relatives. This is a 182
ritual act and may be interpreted as a token "payment" or gesture in formal expiation of an infringement of the solidarity (the *marr*) of a group, members of which are bound together by the sharing of a special bond.

In the case of the ceremonial revelation of the jealously- 182
guarded sacred totemic objects of the clans, with their 431
intense solidarity, it was pointed out that the reciprocal 796
gifts required are substantial and exacting, and I have 778
shown that a considerable amount of organisation is required to enable a man to discharge these obligations.

But it must be remembered that there is also another side to these transactions to which reference has already been
made, and that a man not only gains greatly in prestige [554]
and social status, and increases the scope of the ceremonial exchange cycle in which every individual of standing plays a part, but above all, the *marr* or "spiritual power" from the successful conduct of these reacts directly upon all his other
activities. It assists him in hunting and brings him "good [777]
luck" (*tjämbait*) and as has been stated, it adds to his prestige, his social status.

A graphic illustration of the belief in the spiritual power 777
which reposes in the sacred *räŋga*, occurred while I was 778
living with these people. Immediately after the revelation 796
of the *räŋga*, a ceremony associated with the sun totem of a clan called Maräŋo, a young man went out turtle hunting in his canoe, and returned with four turtles. The old men credited the success of the expedition to "good luck" (*tjämbait*) and claimed that the "body", really the "skin" (*kälŋa*) of the young man was still covered with

777 the fine powdery dust (*ḳänno*),[20] of the ceremonial ground,
778 and declared that the turtles were therefore "*yarḳomirri*"
[796] (lit. "bearing a name", i.e. sacred). A rite was performed to
remove the tabu, before the flesh could be eaten by the
[431] uninitiated. Even then those people, other than members
of the totemic group, who ate the flesh, were called upon
to make a payment of the type previously described, called
tadoit, in this case to the fully initiated members.

182 Reference has been made to the obligation to hunt which
[461] a man incurs in order to provide animal food for the
431 women upon whom he must depend for the large quan-
[561] tities of food which he requires to meet the periodic
[796] ceremonial presentations which mark almost every stage
606 of initiation as well as the termination of each critical stage
604 in his life. This obligation is especially stressed in his
relationship with his *muḳul rumaro*[21] (potential mother-

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[20] *Kānno* is really ash, fine, white, powdery wood ash. This man was said to be "*ḳälŋa ḳännomirri*", "skin with ashes", because the white dust of the ceremonial ground was still on his body and carried its *marr*.

[601] [21] As this paper may be read by many economists who may not have anthropological training, some reference to the kinship system of the aborigines may be of assistance. Under the system which is called "classificatory", the terms of relationship allied to the family and to near kin are extended to a number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced but who are grouped or classified with own kin. A man applies the term "father" not only to his own father but to all the people his father calls "brother" and this system is extended indefinitely. These terms expressing relationship are used instead of personal names, as terms of address. This system has the effect of reducing greatly the number of actual terms in use. But kinship terms are not mere names, for each carries with it a set pattern of behaviour. In Arnhem Land a man applies the term *muḳul rumaro* (mother-in-law) to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. He knows that he may look to this woman to provide him with a wife or wives and the pattern of behaviour

in-law), and with the particular *kauwāl* (mother's 182
brother) who is the husband of this woman to whom he 431
applies the term *mukul*. Before the potential mother-in-law [604] 606
has a daughter, even before she is pregnant, he may begin
to send her gifts of food. These progressive gifts have a
cumulative effect and build up goodwill. They are divided
into two series, to each of which a special name is applied.
The first series are *milmarr*, while those given to the mother-
in-law after the birth of a daughter are known by a dif-
ferent term, *mundur*. As my informant said, "that is hard
work for me; she pays me back," i.e. by giving her daughter
to me in marriage. They believe that this special form of
giving has more than a "goodwill" effect, and that *marr*,
the spiritual force or power to which I have referred, goes
with the food, so that it has a greater significance than the
white man would attach to it—and much greater than its
mere value as food. The same applies to the special cere- 182
monial gifts of food and *gerri* which are presented by the 431
novitiate at various stages during his initiation to clan totems 561
and to other cults. Implicit in this form of giving is the 626 796
feeling which is even more important than "goodwill", that
it places the recipient under an obligation to repay. To [554]
remain under such a debt is to accept a feeling of inferiority,
of shame and humiliation.

In discussing the "drive", the urge to carry out the exact- 182
ing hard work (which in a fully organised aboriginal 431
society is everywhere in evidence) I have stressed the obli- 461
gation which a man feels to reciprocate with a gift of at 554 626

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toward *mukul rumaro* is one of rigid avoidance. He may not speak to her nor she to him, but he has very definite obligations towards her (*mukul rumaro*), including the obligation to provide her with certain animal food, with progressive gifts of a special type described above.

ordinary men, in about the same proportion as we do. However, no matter 000
how much we like natives and their culture, there is always a tendency to assume an ethnic superiority and to look upon a "primitive" man as "just like a child." This assumed mental superiority is part of our thinking and difficult to dislodge.

A "council" of the important old men had gathered under a large 623
tamariad tree on the border of the totem grounds (page 31). Mahkarolla, [159]
as one of the older and more important men of the Murngin, had a place 628
in the circle. [I was also present.] The members of this council were discussing the perplexities of the great war in which their various clans were involved. A few months before there had been complete quiet. In the whole of northern Arnhem Land there had been peace. All the old blood feuds were quiet and inactive. The great ceremony to celebrate the recognition of Yurlunggur, the python god, had started. Leaders from the upper reaches of the Roper River had come down to the coastal plains of the Arafura Sea for this great fertility rite.

One night two young men, against the wishes of their elders, killed a boy and wounded another who belonged to clans that had been their traditional enemies. In the early morning the bush people gathered their belongings and hurried back to their own country. The younger men of all the clans of the Murngin and the other tribes made new spears and tested their spear-throwers in preparation for trouble. War started. The ceremonies ceased. Many battles were fought and many people were killed (pages 172-174).

The ceremony which had been interrupted was a fertility rite. Without 796
this celebration to help nature perform her many functions, the animals 182
would not multiply, the grass would not grow, and the seasons of the year 628
would lose their symmetry. The absolute necessity for the celebration of this ritual was felt by all the men who had accepted the responsibilities of Murngin society.

The council had met, therefore, to find ways of stopping the war and of 623
bringing peace to all the clans of the black world as they knew it. The war 628
must be stopped if life were to continue.

The causes of the war were considered in the effort to find a solution which would bring peace to the people. The reasons for the failure of the peace-making ceremonies were considered. Blame was attached to various individuals. The old men criticized especially the hot-headedness of their youths, with slightly more emotion expressed when they spoke of the misdeeds of their enemies' young men.

After several hours of talk consensus was reached. It was felt that the warlike peoples of the bush were really responsible for the trouble. It was

582 It will be seen from the above that though eight subsections are
recognized, these operate in four pairs, so reducing the organization
616 in this respect to a four-section system. It should be noticed,
however, that normally a man marries a woman of the first-named
subsection in the above, *i.e.*, a Ngarit man regularly marries a
Bilindjan woman, but under certain circumstances may marry a
Kalian woman. A Buralang man regularly marries a Bulaindjan
woman, but may marry a Ngaritjan woman, and so on.

The chief ceremonial object is called *muraian*, and each horde
778 possesses a number. These are, in the vast majority of cases, representations of (*a*) utensils, such as digging sticks (*bartʃu*), dilly-bags (*batti*), clubs (*balata*), *etc.*, supposed to have been used by mythological ancestors; (*b*) natural species associated in legend with these ancestors; (*c*) these mythological ancestors themselves or certain of their physical organs. These *muraian* would, I suppose, be termed ceremonial totems, though it seems an abuse of the term so to apply it. *Muraian* is the common " outside " name for these objects, while the ceremonial or " inside " name is *raŋga*. *Muraian* is, on rare occasions, used to indicate anything sacred or tabu, but correctly the term applies only to these particular objects, the general term for sacred being *yarin*. Thus the *muraian* or *raŋga* is *yarin*.

•796 The ceremonies associated with these *raŋga* are known as *nara*,[3]
but while there is found an ill-defined system of local totem centres the
621 *nara* ceremonies are performed at any suitable place, quite frequently
778 in the territory of another horde many miles from the totem centre
to which it belongs. Not infrequently both Yiritcha and Dua
hordes will unite for a *nara* ceremony, *raŋga* of both moieties being
used.

It is upon these *raŋga* that the only real cohesion between the
778 various hordes is based. Certain hordes of the same moiety, though
621 as widely separated as Elcho Island on the north coast and Blue
614 Mud Bay on the Gulf of Carpentaria, possess the same *raŋga*, and
these are regarded as belonging to the same *mala*. I leave it to be

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[3] It should be noted that the *nara* ceremonies are in no sense increase rites, which are unknown in this region.

114 introduction to this fundamental aspect of aboriginal life is given in A. P. Elkin's *The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them.*

771 779 Totemism is fundamentally a complex of beliefs and attitudes based on a doctrine of oneness of life shared by nature and man. In other words, natural species and phenomena are brought into man's social order; that is, they are regarded as members of his local groups, clans, and moieties. Usually, too, a bond that is both social and religious is established between a group of men and women on the one hand and one or more natural species on the other. The latter are the totems of the former. In what is termed cult-society (or 'lodge') totemism, the totem is the symbol of the whole set of myth and ritual, which is the clan's link with, and door into, the 'eternal dream-time', the state and life of the great heroes, the ancestors, the spirits.

796 Mr Chaseling refers to many rites and beliefs which belong to the aboriginal religious world. Those connected with blood, described in Chapter 5, are especially interesting. We notice the taboo on eating food, because of the shedding [262] of blood when obtaining it, or because of the presence of a corpse, and the rite for removing the taboo, which includes a 'totemic well', a sacred meal, and purification by fire. Another interesting rite is the singing of the myth of creation by the medicine-man as a cure (Chapter 10).

842 In Chapter 8, Mr Chaseling refers to the natives' belief regarding conception. The general reader may not be aware that in most regions of the continent, the Aborigines do not regard sexual intercourse as the cause of conception. Mr Chaseling says that was the case in north-east Arnhem Land, but that now, the view has been slightly modified; it is now held that intercourse is an act of preparation for, and an invitation to, the unborn spirit to enter the womb. This agrees with the findings of Spencer and Gillen and others for nearby regions. Dr Warner, however, came to the

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262 Lagoons overflow in the wet season and hundreds of acres
[133] of low-lying land are under water. It is country where water-
[222] lilies grow in profusion. Women dive for the root-stocks
and roast great quantities of them. Lily seed-pods are eaten
[252] raw, sieved through network dilly-bags, or ground between
stones and baked into cakes.

The most palatable of all vegetable food is probably the
corm or swamp rush, 'rarkai', and these swamps are famous
[137] throughout Arnhem Land. Rarkai rushes cover brackish
[222] swamps near the coast, and women systematically turn over
many acres of black mud in their search for the nut. In east
Arnhem Land I know of several such swamps, each of which
[361] supported a hundred or even two hundred Yulengor for six
[796] weeks at a time. During the corm season the hordes make the
swamps a rendezvous for corroborees, ceremonies, and initia-
[574] tions. Corms are about the size of marbles, and in addition
to being the most nutritious of all their vegetable foods they
possess a pleasant nutty flavour.

[771] Several foods have totemic significance and find a place
in ceremonial practices. Probably the most important of
these is 'ngutu', the nut of the cycad palm, and it is said that
this yellowish brown nut was first eaten by spirit-Ancestors,
[773] who instructed their daughters in the art of preparing it.
[462] Legend declares that as the knowledge was received first by
[222] women, they have for all time to attend to the gathering
and cooking of all vegetable foods.

262 Hard-shelled cycad nuts are cracked between stones, and
252 the kernels soaked in water for three or even five days. Most
of the poison is thus leached out, and the pulp is wrapped in
bark and buried in hot sand over which a fire is lit. Cycad
meal can be baked into flat coarse cakes that sometimes
weigh up to fifteen pounds, that keep for days, and can be
carried long distances for use at ceremonial gatherings.
[574] 'Ngutu' has sustaining properties, and Yulengor live on it
for weeks as they prepare for inter-tribal corroborees.

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779 Totems in sacred ceremonies are known as 'maraian', and generally denote some utensil used by the Ancestors. Maraian may also be birds, animals, or fish intimately linked with the Ancestors. Parts of the nomad's anatomy, representing that of an Ancestor, and usually their reproductive organs, feature in song and dance. Such caricatures are accepted by the nomads, but I have seen consternation and embarrassment amongst mixed parties of white visitors attending these ceremonies.

779 ● 796 614 621 778 Totemic beliefs link widely separated hordes, who meet for ceremonies connected with the creation myth, for bone-burying and for initiations. Several clans may be co-guardians of the same sacred site, such as the Reratjingo of Port Bradshaw and the Lia-gullomirry from the Woolen River, who are separated by about a hundred and fifty miles, yet both belong to the Dua moiety and have close connexions with a sacred well on the Woolen River where a great mythical snake in Creation days distinguished himself by swallowing two of the Ancestresses. Guardianship of this site has been mainly in the hands of the Woolen River horde, but at rare intervals Reratjingo men from Port Bradshaw make their way to the well and take part in the ceremonies. A sacred maraian, consisting of a painted hollow log, represents the snake, and is the centre of the rite, and at certain stages in the proceedings the leader blows through it to produce dull, booming reverberations which are said to be the voice of the snake. An old man of the visiting Reratjingo returned to Port Bradshaw, painted a [178] similar maraian, and introduced the ceremony to his horde; now his sons, grandsons, and nephews carry out the ritual of this totem.

778 531 Some designs and myths, painted on maraian in coloured clays, or bound with string and parrot feathers, involve weeks of careful preparation. A shower of rain will efface the paint, moths may consume the string; the horde leader

firing long grass to drive out edible snakes, rats, and goannas. 628 [224]
Others searched the beaches for concealed turtle nests, which [222]
often yield from five to ten dozen eggs.

Raids are common, and as the men are killed the vendetta passes from one generation to another. Entire hordes have been exterminated, and today there are several remnants in which a couple of women or old men are all that remain from clans once large. Usually the feuds continue till the [728]
parties find it desirable to negotiate for peace to allow some [796]
ceremony to be held. Big ceremonies involving several hordes are invariably preceded by these peacemaking 'Makkarratas', for before they can sing and dance together they must adjust their differences.

For the 'makkarrata', the opposing clans take up positions 728
about two hundred yards apart and face each other. 796
Members of the offending horde run again and again 628
toward the avengers, who throw spears at them. If the offence is a serious one, the killer may be killed; but the culprit uses his skill to side-step the spears, and it is seldom that these trials-by-ordeal prove fatal. Having agreed to establish peace, the avengers throw their spears as a gesture of disapproval, often with no intent to harm.

Once the avengers have thrown their spears and exhibited their indignation, a neutral party conducts the culprit to them. He reverses his spears and hands them over, turns his back and presents a thigh for a spear to be plunged into it. By the drawing of blood the crime is expiated and tension is released. Avengers and neutrals crowd round the culprit, congratulating him in the friendliest manner and ridiculing the idea of bad blood ever existing between them. Usually they make a combined camp and spend the night in singing and dancing.

cattle to Yirrkala it was not long before their likeness too 532
appeared on bark sheets.

I saw little-known caves on the Wessel Islands, in which totemic myths had been painted side by side with Japanese pearlers, Macassar proas, and odd European wanderers. Rock paintings are common in many parts of Australia, except in Arnhem Land where outcrops of rock are so rare that only three lots of rock paintings have been found. Here the primitive artist uses a bark sheet, which in itself indicates some measure of aesthetic impulse, for it is not easily obtained and has no permanence.

The Serpent in sacred myths is spiritually present in the 778
'maraian' or log painted with totemic symbols. For cere- 531
monies, the maraian is kept in a bush shelter deep in the 796
scrub, and initiated men guard it till the moment arrives for its dramatic elevation. They push their way through the shelter toward the over-awed initiates, and grovel, shudder, squirm, and roll over and over with strained and contorted faces, as if overcome by dread of the long maraian so carefully borne across their bodies. Wriggling along in the rear, the leader of the ceremony blows through the maraian and produces the low booming sound so feared by women and children and believed to be the voice of the Serpent.

Designs on maraian are made from coloured clays, 386
string, and feathers. Hundreds of yards of string are wound 531
on some of them, and the effect is enhanced by weaving [778]
into it white birds'-down, red and green parrots' feathers, [237]
or opossum fur. Red ochre-stone from a totem centre on
Elcho Island is traded for hundreds of miles, and is in de- [438]
mand because of a greasy property which makes it adhere to [302]
the skin. Ordinary clay-paints crack and peel, but this
is overcome by crushing orchid stems and smearing the [824]
sticky juice over the body before applying the paint.
Participants in ceremonies decorate themselves with totemic 531
designs, and glue long lines of white birds'-down on their 301

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*773 A goanna was among the many sacred totems in the canoe,
778 and he fared better than the rest; he swam ashore and hid
[779] in a lagoon. His lagoon is now an important totem centre,
and the lesser-spirit, or mali, of the goanna guards it. As in
many underground springs, the water occasionally bubbles
up in the lagoon, and this is a sign that the goanna is moving
[562] below. No women are allowed near the totem, and if yams
[784] in the vicinity are eaten the results are fatal. Old men who
remember the Macassars told me that when they attempted
[648] to make their trepang camps on the beach by the lagoon the
Yulengor got rid of them by refusing to allow them to use
the water or to gather firewood.

Restrictions are enforced on firewood in the area, because
the goanna sent his mali into one of the trees growing by the
spring. When the Junkgowa followed the goanna ashore,
they were attracted by the singular beauty of this tree, for as
[825] well as the goanna-mali they saw a small red parrot in the
[531] branches. They declared that thereafter the feathers of this
parrot were to be used in decorating totems of the Dua
moiety. The tree was pronounced sacred; there are now
[824] many of them near the lagoon, and the tabu has been
extended to them all.

*773 Totems, or 'rungga', floated ashore, and the Junkgowa
779 hung them in the tree to dry. But when the pandanus palm
armlets were washed up on the beach, they sprang to life and
grew of their own accord, and the Junkgowa stripped them
[824] of their fronds and wove them into the first aboriginal armlets,
dilly-bags, and nganmaras. These articles are in everyday
use, but because the Junkgowa made them, they are
also totems, and their story is preserved in the songs and
ceremonies of the guardian horde.

Two other sacred centres were visited between Blue Mud
[778] Bay and Cape Arnhem, where the Junkgowa performed
miracles and taught their children totemic secrets and dances.
● [796] It is the record of these activities, some of them so trivial as

to include natural body functions, that forms the basis of 773*
the nomads' ceremonial culture and is preserved in narrative- 779
songs. At Port Bradshaw the Junkgowa made dilly-bags, [796]
yam sticks, feather belts, and armlets, and left two lots of
children to guard the totems and multiply into the Kalpu
and Reratjingo hordes. Today these warlike clans regard
the site as their mutual totem centre, though they have [778]
nothing else in common. Ten children were born to the
Junkgowa at Yallangbarra, but as they were sexless a 773*
further miracle was required to change them into normal
beings. To do this the Ancestors carved ten effigies; they
hid half of them in the long grass on the dunes and laid the
remainder in a depression in the sand. Those in the grass
grew beards and turned into males, as did five of the sexless
children; those in the smooth sand remained smooth faced
and exerted a similar influence on the remaining sexless
children, who thereupon became females.

Loaded with totems, the Junkgowa turned westward and 773*
came to a large granite dome by the shores of Arnhem Bay 779
where they left totems and the nuclei of hordes. This rock
is now a totem and preserves the mali of a yam that was first [778]
planted beneath its shelter. Between Arnhem and Bucking-
ham Bays a goanna was set free, and the art of making sacred
yam sticks and dilly-bags was taught to children born and
abandoned there. Fire also was introduced, and its mali [372]
was embodied in a totem.

Just how the nomad discovered fire remains a mystery, 372
but today his fire-making is a simple though skilful art. Like
the first Ancestors, the operator rests a short softwood stick
on the ground, and sitting behind it he holds it firmly in
place with his foot. In the upper surface of the softwood he
bores a shallow hole and makes a small cut to form a channel
in one side of it. A pointed hardwood stick is placed in the
hole and twirled rapidly backwards and forwards between
his palms so that the friction causes the softwood fibre to

*773 marry only into another specified malk. Animals and birds [617] assigned by the Women to the malk were accepted as the insignia or 'djungoin' of those marriage-groups.

The earthly paradise on the round hill kept the Women occupied in naming and distributing fauna, and in ●[796] inaugurating the famous Gunabibee ceremony in which the story of their work and adventures is preserved. In decorating themselves and their totems for the ceremony, they [237] began the present-day practice of drawing their own blood and smearing it over their bodies as an adhesive for the birds'-down so often applied now in strikingly effective 752 designs. Blood is taken by a process suggestive of barbarism and scientific knowledge of blood circulation. In west Arnhem Land string is tied above the elbow of the donor, who closes his hand and alternately bends and straightens his arm till the veins show up. One of these is nicked with a shell or spear-head, and by bending and relaxing the arm the blood is pumped into a bark container. To seal the wound the tourniquet is removed, and a boll from the cotton tree is dabbed over the opening. Half a pint of blood may be [413] removed, and the donor and his friends unconcernedly paint it over their bodies with fibre or human-hair brushes. Before it congeals they apply birds' feathers.

*773 In time the younger of the two Sisters realized that, for reasons unspecified, she was about to give birth to a child. Consequently they searched for a good camp site and found one near a lagoon. After the fashion of women, they had fossicked during the day for food, and had also gathered sheets of paper-bark to cover their hut, so that by the time they came to the lagoon they were loaded down with rolls of bark, and their dilly-bags bulged with yams, goannas, and animals.

The older Woman built the hut and bent sticks into a dome, resembling the ribs of an umbrella, and covered these [415] with bark. Meanwhile, her sister went to the lagoon for

*773 'There must be something in that water.'

'Yes. This might be a Wangarr (Great Spirit) place. I think a big Wangarr snake lives in there and ate all our food.'

The sun had set, it was too late to look for a new camp, and, in any case, the younger Woman was too weak to travel. Tired and hungry, they sat at the door of their hut, watching a strange white cloud in the west. It was about the size of a man's hand, but as it climbed overhead it increased in size till it was as big as a turtle. It then turned black, spread over the sky and came down near the lagoon, whereupon torrents of rain fell into the water and on the Women's camp; strangely enough, the ground a few chains away remained dry.

The stage was now set.

Thunder roared and lightning crackled and hissed along the ground, till the young Woman roused out of her coma and asked: 'Sister, what is the matter?' And, as her child was born at that moment, she prophesied: 'This is no ordinary storm. Wangarr is sending it out of the lagoon to drown us.'

'Yes, that is true. We had better leave the child and dance outside to stop the rain.'

In the darkness they circled round the hut, dancing and singing, in a desperate attempt to divert the attention of Wangarr, but the rain fell with even greater violence. They had but one other scheme, the singing of the third great
● [796] native ceremony known as the Junggowan. And to the
Sisters dancing in the rain goes the honour of first per-
[535] forming the songs, dances, and myths in the present-day
[628] Junggowan which, like the Ngara and Gunabibee, is an
[796] inter-tribal link; the myths it enshrines are sung and danced when hordes meet for intercourse. Their efforts had no effect on the rain, but the totemic powers released through their sacred pantomime disturbed the serpent Kaitjalan.

*773 'I have been tasting all the totemic animals and birds.'

'They are good food. What else have you been eating? Did you eat any crocodiles, turtle, or big fish?'

With vehement readiness, the conscience-smitten Kaitjalan avowed: 'No, I did not.'

An interjection then came from the Arnhem Bay serpent: 'Did you eat any dugong?' But, without waiting for an answer, Wessel Island, who was now thoroughly aroused, stood on his tail and boomed: 'What have you eaten?' Hard-pressed for time, Kaitjalan parried with the query: 'What have you been eating yourself? You are making a big noise and standing on your tail.'

Now Wessel also was a mighty gourmand, and had just eaten a great totemic rock cod, but unlike Kaitjalan, he had nothing to hide, so he temporized with ungodlike coquetry: 'You tell me what you ate, and then I will tell you.' Not to be tricked so easily into confessing the enormity of his escapade, Kaitjalan descended to a maudlin dodge: 'You tell me what you ate and then I will tell you.' 'Well,' said Wessel, 'I ate a big totem fish.' And with that he collapsed and fell down toward Kaitjalan, so that his tail remained in the Wessel Islands, and his head rested by Kaitjalan's lagoon, eighty miles away.

'Now tell me what you ate.'

'A baby. I ate a small baby.'

'Yes, that is better. But you must have eaten more than that. Tell me all you ate.'

'Women. I ate ——' And bursting into the great Gunabibee Saga, Kaitjalan related the entire story of the Women, [796] their work, the scene by the camp fire, the birth, the storm, and the events leading up to the consummation of a serpent's meal.

Wessel was dumbfounded: 'Why did you eat the three of them? Why didn't you leave some for me?'

Kaitjalan regretted having consumed all of them on his

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789 Magic profoundly influences everyday beliefs and habits, and an ordinary nomad, as well as the witch-doctor, may set in operation magical powers.[1]

776 782 [775] [755] Prayer is offered to the spirits of the dead, and they are not only called on to receive departing human spirits, but in time of sickness, a man will call on the waterspout to carry his prayer to the spirits of his relatives.[2] A patient may also enter a totemic waterhole inhabited by a great mythical snake, which will effect the faith-cure.[3] Mythical serpents are called on for help, and receive prayers in time of acute danger and distress.

782 771 Makarola told me that he had been overtaken by darkness when returning with his family after a day's fishing. A strong wind arose and the canoe was blown out to sea, waves half-filled it, and whilst wives and children baled frantically in the darkness, he toiled to keep the dug-out into the wind. Makarola then remembered his totem and called on it for help. He said that in that instant he saw a 'bright light' which 'filled' his head. By the light he was assured that they would be brought safely to land, and when the wind abated, the family landed in an exhausted condition.

779 Though awe and fear weigh heavily in aboriginal religion, the nomad's religious outlook and practices are best summed up under the term 'Totemism'. Such totemism links man and nature and goes back to the ancestral creators of Junkgowa, who made the earth and its inhabitants, instituted present-day laws, habits and customs, and defined for all time the nomad's outlook and beliefs. Totemic beliefs and the record of their bestowal are preserved in the ● [796] Ngara ceremonies, which are linked with the totem centres where the hero-Ancestors performed their mighty deeds. 775 Behind the supernatural Ancestors, and beyond the present world, is the spirit-land of Buralkor, from whence they came.

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[1] Chapter 13, 'Black Magic.'

[2] Chapter 10, 'Medicine-Men and Magic.'

[3] *Ibid.*